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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1797



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FRC CORRESPONDENT OBSERVES SOVIET TROOP DEPARTURES FROM GDR

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 18 Apr 80 p 3

[Article by Karl-Heinz Baum from Wittenberg: "As Destination They Indicated 'Homeland'--There Are No Exact Figures on the Departure of Soviet Soldiers From the GDR"]

[Text] "Well, they're already coming back," a 10-year old in the uniform of the Thaelmann-Pioneers remarked with astonishment as a Soviet military truck drove along the Dresdner Strasse in front of the Wittenberg railway station. But the Soviet soldiers in the truck had, just like the girl and some 3,000 persons from Wittenberg and the surrounding area (consisting mostly of delegations from factories and schools), witnessed the farewell ceremonies for another departing Soviet unit from the garrison town.

At 1417 a transport train had been readied on track 2a, usually used by trains departing in the direction of Berlin. Some 72 minutes later, 2 minutes before the announced departure time of 1601 the train pulled out, carrying 20 T62 tanks, two amphibious armored vehicles, two armored reconnaissance vehicles, seven trucks, one radio van, one water tanker and a trailer. Some 120 soldiers had been loaded into four covered freight cars; officers and their dependents had been housed in a sleeping car.

Between the arrival and the departure of the troop train a farewell ceremony took place, resembling in every detail the one that had taken place at the same locality on 5 December 1979. A large picture had been placed on the front of the station, depicting the general secretaries of the CPSU and the SED, Leonid Brezhnev and Erich Honecker.

The secretary of the SED Kreis leadership, Albert Schulzki, a worker, an officer of the NVA, and the commander of the Soviet troop train made speeches from a reviewing stand covered with red banners. As had been the case 4-1/2 months before, neither the official escorts of the foreign ministry nor officers of the GDR or USSR armies were able to provide exact nomenclatures for the departing tanks and trucks. Again, corresponding questions of Western journalists were answered with the advice: "Go ahead and take pictures. You're allowed to do that. And then show the picture to your

military men. They can then give you the exact information." Again, officers remarked that the destination of the train was merely "the Soviet Union" or "homeland." In February, the Soviet news agency TASS had spoken of "the European part of the USSR."

On 6 October, the eve of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, Leonid Brezhnev, in a speech held at the East Berlin Palace of the Republic, had announced that the USSR would withdraw unilaterally 20,000 men, 1,000 tanks and other military equipment from the GDR in the course of 1 year. Between the beginning of the troop withdrawal on 5 December and today the Soviet invasion into Afghanistan has taken place. But Afghanistan was not mentioned either in Wittenberg or in Orschatz, where a Soviet artillery unit was bid farewell in the presence of Western correspondents on Easter Monday.

Erich Rau, secretary of the Halle Bezirk SED leadership, had the evening before made the following observation regarding the international situation at a friendship meeting with the departing Soviets: "NATO's missile decisions and the threat of military force against Iran mirror the entire danger and adventurism of imperialism." On the plaza in front of the railway station Albert Schulski said the following words of farewell to Soviet soldiers: The unilateral withdrawal "is held by our people to be proof of the unerring, consistent and constructive devotion for the assurance of world peace and the security of the nations. All of us know that the Soviet Army is not an army of aggression, and has at no time attacked other nations and subjugated them, and we all know how much we owe to the Soviet people and especially to our comrades-in-arms."

Schulski's speech also indicated that on Wednesday "the last units from Wittenberg had begun their return to the homeland." However, it could not be determined how many tanks and soldiers were withdrawn. A representative of the GDR Foreign Ministry merely noted that "one, sometimes two trains daily" had commenced the long journey to the Soviet Union since 1 April. This information permits the rough estimate that some 200 tanks and 2,000 soldiers have left the town on the Elbe.

On the Ernst Thaelmann Strasse in Wittenberg that leads from the town in direction Treuenbrietzen, passing by a Soviet barracks, seven houses have been vacant for a few days--visible indication that there are now fewer soldiers in the garrison town on the Elbe, since these houses were up to now occupied by Soviet officers and their families. On Wednesday the last of them, loaded with suitcases, left the houses. The Soviet Union regards the further withdrawal of armored and artillery units as an answer to the "professional skepticism of Western observers," a commentator of Radio Moscow maintained after Easter, adding that the words and deeds of the Soviet Union were always in harmony, and "in the last 6 months the international situation has become considerably graver. And yet the Soviet Union continues to reduce unilaterally the numerical strengths of its troops in Central Europe."

The aim of the Soviet "measures" was the decisive revival of the current MBFR negotiations in Vienna. Since Easter the Soviet Union has demanded that the unilateral step be considered in a planned agreement. According to that plan the United States should withdraw 13,000 men and the Soviet Union 30,000 men from Central Europe. The GDR observer at the Vienna talks, Andre Wieland, said in East Berlin that the Soviet demands were "only legitimate."

According to his calculations the United States had increased its presence in Central Europe by 25,000 men. Should the Soviet Union, according to the Vienna proposals now, withdraw another 30,000 men, the net result of the first phase of this disarmament measure would be 50,000 less Soviet soldiers, but 12,000 more U.S. soldiers. This was said to be "absolutely unbalanced," and could be used to "test" the existing balance in Central Europe.

At that press conference, too, there were no exact numbers of the Soviet soldiers withdrawn from the GDR: "Everything indicates that the USSR is conscientiously fulfilling the measures announced by Comrade Brezhnev," the spokesman for the East Berlin press center maintained. Wieland added that the decisive factor would be the fact that at the end 20,000 men and 1,000 tanks "would be outside the area of negotiations." In this connection Wieland talked of the "withdrawal of regiments," that was said to be significant to military experts, and verifiable. But the experts in Vienna will surely have their hands full for some time.

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APPLICABILITY OF GENEVA AGREEMENTS FOR NUCLEAR, CHEMICAL WARFARE QUESTIONED

Potsdam-Babelsberg STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 29 No 2, Feb 80 signed to press 21 Dec 79 pp 133-146

[Article by Prof Dr Bernhard Graefrath, Jurisprudence Department, Humboldt University, East Berlin: "On the Scope of Applicability of the Supplementary Protocols of the Geneva Agreements of 12 August, 1949"]

[Text] The Geneva "Diplomatic Conference on the Confirmation and Further Development of Humanitarian International Law to Be Applied in Armed Conflicts" after 4 years of work in 1977 made a significant and at the same time realistic contribution to the development of international law in one of the most complicated areas through two supplementary protocols on the 1949 Geneva Conventions¹. The "Supplementary Protocol to the 12 August 1949 Geneva Conventions Concerning the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I)" coordinates the ratification and further development of rules, applying during international armed conflicts, with the struggle for the implementation of the ban on the use of force. It does away with a politically extremely questionable and practically outdated distinction between a humanitarian Geneva law and wartime law according to The Hague² for which the ban on the use of force in the United Nations Charter no longer allows any room.

Basically this involves not only a supplementation of the Geneva agreements. Their field of action is considerably enlarged. At the same time, fundamental rules of international law, which had been expressed in the The Hague conventions, were confirmed and further developed. The protocol confirms the obligatory nature of many rules which were massively violated or challenged during World War II and the subsequent military conflicts, but especially during the Vietnam War³. In its preamble it makes it unmistakably clear that it starts with the ban on the use of force, as drafted in the UN Charter and serves for the implementation of the humanistic basic principles of international law embodied in it.

Like the Geneva Agreements, the Protocol is in keeping with the fact that, in spite of the definite ban on the use of force in the Charter, international armed conflicts unfortunately still do take place. It is aimed at restricting their effects as much as possible, without thus justifying

any acts of aggression. In order to rule out any misinterpretations of this attitude and objective, the Protocol's preamble not only repeated the ban on the use of force as contained in the UN Charter but also expressly stated the conviction "that nothing in this protocol or in the 12 August 1949 Geneva Conventions can be interpreted to justify or permit any kind of acts of aggression or any kind of use of force incompatible with the United Nations Charter"⁴. This basic concept also decisively influenced the drafting especially of parts III and IV of the Protocol, concerning protection for the civilian population. In contrast to the Geneva Conventions, they are not confined to the care and humane treatment of victims that have already been claimed by the particular conflict. Their peculiarity consists precisely in the fact that they clearly orient us toward the prevention of additional and immoderate victims and sufferings and thus considerably broaden past action radius of the Geneva Agreements.

The Protocol does not regulate "just war." Fears to the effect that the Protocol of Article I might introduce such a distinction into international law⁵ were completely without foundation already because that distinction is valid international law ever since the ban on the use of force. The rules of the Protocol make it clear that responsibility for the preparation and conduct of a war of aggression does not relieve anybody of the duty to respect the rules applicable in the case of an international armed conflict.

The Protocol underscores the qualitative difference in the responsibility of those who are responsible for unleashing and conducting the war from those others who are not responsible for unleashing the war but for the violation of the rules to be applied during armed conflicts. A. I. Poltovak and L. I. Zavinskiy quite correctly referred emphatically to the significance of this distinction as well as the usefulness and justification of rules which are to be applied during armed conflicts although conducting a war of aggression itself is a crime⁶.

It is impossible within the context of this essay to go into all of the important problems of the Protocol. I would therefore like to confine myself to some statements on the area of application of the Protocols.

The area of application of the Protocols kept the conference busy for a long time. In the process there were widely differing and partly controversial points of departure. At first--especially Norway--challenged the necessity of two Protocols and thus the distinction between rules of international armed conflict and rules which apply also in noninternational armed conflicts. There were even attempts to combine the provisions of both Protocol drafts in a relatively advanced stage of their development into a single protocol⁷. It was not only the example of the Geneva Agreements--containing in Article 3 a definite special provision for noninternational armed conflict--which finally prevailed. Almost all countries were most interested in making sure that there would be a definite distinction in the Protocols between civil war and international armed

conflict. Here the main concern was not to supply any pretext for interference in the particular civil war, to underscore the difference between domestic and international armed conflicts, a difference which is of great importance in the implementation of the self-determination right of peoples and the respect of sovereign equality of states. The worry that Protocol II might be able to encourage rebellion and intervention through noninternational armed conflict, during the last phase of the conference led to a considerable reduction of the rules already drafted in the committees for this Protocol⁸.

Protocol I relates to international armed conflict. In contrast to Protocol II, it is confined, in its area of applicability, not to a certain category of international armed conflict, such as war conducted with conventional weapons, local war, or the like. It allows no room for a restrictive interpretation which might lead to a situation where "total" war or the use of mass annihilation weapons is taken out of the Protocol's area of applicability. One decisive function of the Protocol consists precisely in setting up or confirming the rules which underline the fact that "total" war is contrary to international law, that is to say, a war that does not make any distinction between civilian and military objects, a war which is directed more against women and children rather than military targets⁹.

It is especially the experiences dating back to World War II and the acts of aggression against the Arab peoples and the peoples of Southeast Asia which so emphatically moved the necessity for the renewal of rules on the protection of the civilian population into the field of vision of the public. Article 1 of the Protocol and the preamble as well as the numerous individual provisions, especially articles 35, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 57, and 59, reveal beyond any doubt that a universal application is intended here, in the same manner as in the Geneva Agreements, not a partial solution which is confined to conflicts with conventional weapons or which does not cover certain methods of warfare¹⁰.

The 3th paragraph of the preamble states expressly that "the provisions of the 12 August 1949 Geneva Conventions and of this Protocol must be applied to the fullest extent under all circumstances in dealing with all persons who are protected by these treaties"¹¹. Article 1 of the Protocol starts, identically with the four Geneva Conventions, with the sentence: "The high contracting parties pledge to abide by this Protocol under all circumstances and to implement compliance with it"¹². In agreement with this, Article 35 states expressly: "In every armed conflict the right of the parties to the conflict to select methods and means of warfare is not unrestricted." This is a definite deviation from the text of Article 22 of the The Hague Rules of Land Warfare, in which intentionally reference is made to every armed conflict in order to make restrictions to certain conflicts impossible and, for the same reason, the methods of warfare, in addition to the means, were included in the ban.

Finally, the provisions on the protection of the civilian population and the assets necessary for its survival would lose any meaning

whatsoever if they were to be confined only to cases of employment of conventional weapons and if they were not to relate also to the use of mass annihilation means. In order not to leave any doubts here likewise, it says in Article 48 that the parties to the conflict should "at all times make a distinction between the civilian population and the combatants and between civilian objects and military targets." In determining the area of applicability of this chapter, it says expressly that "the provisions of this chapter apply to any kind of warfare on land, in the air, or on the sea, which may touch the civilian population..." Article 51, without distinction, outlaws attacks "under all circumstances" and, as an example of such an attack, mentions "a bombing raid using any kinds of methods or means" which treats individual military targets in a city as a uniform military target. Article 53 outlaws methods and means of warfare which serve to or of which one can expect that they will cause widespread, long-lasting, and serious damage to the natural environment and that they will thus endanger the health or survival of the population. Finally, Article 59 forbids the parties to the conflict to make any kind of attack on undefended localities, "with any means whatsoever."

These examples should suffice to show that the Protocol not only does not contain any restriction to certain types of international armed conflict but, conversely, because of many of its provisions, expressly rules out any such "objective" restriction of its field of application.

The Protocol does not provide any possibility for answering the question, as to the influence it may have on the doctrine of total war, to the effect --as the American representative did within the context of a discussion in the American International Law Society--"that the delegates in general have accepted the view that total wars, nuclear weapons wars, etc., are to be treated in a different context, but not at a conference on the law of war"¹³.

Nevertheless, some powers at the conference also issued declarations along these lines. For example, right at the start of the conference, the British delegation, referring to the introduction of the International Committee of the Red Cross, declared on the Protocol draft that "it participates in drafting the Protocol on the assumption that the Protocol does not touch problems concerning atomic, bacteriological, or chemical warfare"¹⁴. In its declaration at the end of the conference we can read similarly "that the new rules, introduced by the Protocol, are not aimed at in any way touching, regulating, or forbidding the use of nuclear arms or other unconventional weapons"¹⁵. A similar declaration by the American delegation¹⁶ differs from the British declaration among other things by virtue of the fact that it relates expressly only to nuclear weapons and not generally to unconventional weapons. During the signing of the Protocol, Great Britain reduced its declaration in keeping with the American statement to nuclear weapons¹⁷. The French declaration is less clear in this respect. It starts by saying that the French government, in drafting the Protocol, "only considered conflicts during which conventional weapons are used" and it then continues to the effect that, according to its opinion, the rules of the Protocol "are not applicable to the use of

nuclear weapons¹⁸. Here again, obviously, only the use of nuclear weapons but not other unconventional weapons is to be excluded.

Now, it is clear that the Protocol does not contain any ban on weapons. That applies to nuclear weapons just as it does to conventional weapons. The majority of countries, and especially also the socialist countries, again and again pointed out that specific bans on the use of weapons or bans on the development, production, stockpiling, or use of weapons are subjects for disarmament negotiations and are being discussed or must be discussed by the corresponding bodies¹⁹. Attempts at negotiating specific weapons bans at the Geneva conference or introducing corresponding procedural rules into the Protocol were rejected. They would have broken the Protocol's framework wide open. But that does not mean that the Protocol's provisions relate only to conventional weapons and do not touch on mass annihilation weapons. They regulate the use of these weapons just as little as they regulate the use of conventional weapons. But their provisions on the protection of certain persons and property, on the protection of the civilian population, do not contain any special rules for mass annihilation weapons and do not permit any such interpretations either²⁰.

It is likewise not justified to interpret the introduction of the ICRC on the Protocol draft, which the conference had as a working base, in this fashion. There it is merely stated that the ICRC, in submitting the Protocol draft, does not intend to raise problems which are connected with atomic, bacteriological, and chemical warfare²¹. In the Protocol draft, it did not comment on the question and did not want to do that either, that is to say, to determine the extent to which currently applicable international law already outlines the use or first use of nuclear, bacteriological, or chemical weapons²².

The Protocol was not supposed to intend and could not intend to achieve an as yet missing contractual confirmation of such bans. But that does not mean that the Protocol's rules leave the use of mass annihilation weapons completely untouched. This was stated unambiguously by the ICRC in the introduction to the commentary of the Protocol draft. There it says: "We wish to recall that the ICRC, apart from some provisions of a general nature, has not included any provisions in its draft which cover atomic, bacteriological, and chemical weapons." In this same context it says further: "So-called conventional weapons--although they may cause unnecessary suffering or inflict great efforts--are not regulated by the Protocol draft"²³. This would seem to make it absolutely clear that the elimination of concrete weapons bans, their confirmation, their precise definition or expansion, cannot in any way be construed or interpreted as a restriction of the Protocol's provisions.

In the extent that the Geneva Agreements and the Protocol contain, establish, or confirm rules concerning the protection of certain persons, groups of persons, or objects, this protection is not made dependent on

that the particular available weapons systems permit compliance with these provisions. Protection of medical personnel, medical facilities and transports, of the civilian population, of undefended towns and prisoners of war is regulated generally, in the Geneva Conventions as well as in the Protocol, without restriction as to certain forms of warfare or the use of certain weapons. This is why this cannot mean that the provisions of the Geneva Agreements or of the Protocol should not apply then or that the validity can be ruled out through unilateral declarations or acts when certain weapons or the use of certain weapons, under certain circumstances, in practice rule out compliance with these provisions. Instead, the rules of the Conventions and the Protocol--which undoubtedly are minimum rules for a case in which fundamental principles of international law were violated--must be construed as an order to the governments to guarantee compliance with the rules of the Conventions and the Protocol through comprehensive disarmament agreements and weapons bans²⁴. It would be barefaced cynicism if one wanted to assign legal advisors to the armies on the subject of compliance with the Conventions and the Protocol and if, in strategic and weapons employment planning, one were to start with the idea of the violation or inapplicability of the Conventions and the Protocol. The attempt to take mass annihilation weapons out of the area of applicability of the Conventions and the Protocol casts doubt not only on the rules of the Protocol but also on the 1949 Geneva Conventions.

The declarations of the United States and Great Britain at the time of signing no longer speak of unconventional weapons as such. They only refer to nuclear weapons. The United States declares that "the rules established in the Protocol" do not touch the use of nuclear weapons; Great Britain does not relate this restriction to the rules of the Protocol in general but merely to "the new rules introduced by the Protocol," without however specifying them in any greater detail²⁵.

Both declarations are impossible as interpretations because they contradict the clear wording of the Protocol. As reservations, however, they are incompatible with the subject and purpose of the treaty²⁶ within the meaning of Article 19 of the Vienna Treaty Law Convention. They would invalidate practically all rules of the treaty and, where we are dealing with supplementations in the true sense of the word, they would also invalidate rules of the Geneva Conventions the moment these powers decide to use nuclear weapons. Basically, this kind of declaration does away with the reciprocity of the treaty in dealing with all countries that have no nuclear weapons because, under these conditions, the decision as to the scope and time frame of the Protocol's validity lies solely in the hands of the nuclear power. The countries therefore will carefully watch further developments. If such declarations are made or such reservations are expressed also in connection with ratification, then it will be in each country's security interest to make it clear that it is not willing to accept such a unilateral change in the Protocol's content.

While Protocol I was being drafted, these questions concerning the area of applicability however were not in the foreground; instead, emphasis

was on the inclusion of wars of liberation against colonial and racist regimes in the area of international armed conflicts within the meaning of Article 2 of the Geneva Conventions. This is basically no new issue. It played a role already in 1949. Since then however the international balance of power has been changed fundamentally. It was only natural that especially those countries, which since then had shaken off colonialism, should consider that issue to be a central problem. For them this involved not only an act of solidarity with those peoples that were still fighting for their liberation. For them they were at the same time an act of legal confirmation of their own position which they gained in the struggle for the implementation of the right to self-determination and this was tied in with the basic condemnation of the imperialist policy of colonialism.

The ICRC draft, which emerged from the conference of experts, determined the area of applicability for Protocol I simply with a reference to Article 2 of the Geneva Conventions²⁷. This procedure seemed as simple as it was useful. It was to guarantee an identity of the Protocol's area of applicability with the area of applicability of the Geneva Conventions without any big debate. It therefore looked to be a good idea to include national liberation wars in the area of applicability, by simply confirming that such wars are included in the situations described in Article 2 of the Geneva Conventions. In return there were then also some proposals--which deviated only slightly from each other--from the nonaligned²⁸ and the socialist countries²⁹ (with Norway and Australia supporting the position of the nonaligned countries). These proposals sprang from the basic concept that the only issue here was to confirm law already applicable. They essentially based themselves on Resolution 3103 (XXVIII) of the UN General Assembly.

On this foundation, after protracted negotiations³⁰, during the first session of the conference, Committee I, the following wording was adopted against the votes of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, the FRG, France, Israel, Italy, Japan, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Monaco, New Zealand, the Netherlands, Portugal, the Republic of Korea, Spain, South Africa, Switzerland, Great Britain, the United States, and Uruguay:

"Article 1.

"(3) This Protocol, which supplements the 12 August 1949 Geneva Conventions on the protection of war victims, is applied in situations to which reference is made in the common Article 2 of these conventions.

"(4) The situations, to which mention is made in the above paragraph, include armed conflicts in which peoples fight against colonial rule, foreign rule, foreign occupation, or against racist regimes in the exercise of their right to self-determination, as spelled out in the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Principles of International Law relating to friendly relations and cooperation between countries in consonance with the United Nations Charter."

The statements made by some powers in connection with the adoption of this article show how little the basic and humanitarian concern of the socialist states and the nonaligned countries was understood and how deeply rooted the ideas as to the sovereignty of the colonial powers over the colonial peoples still were.

This attitude at the end of the conference was all the more astonishing since, in the meantime, Article 96, Paragraph 3, the entry into force of the Conventions and the Protocol, in the cases covered in Article 1, Paragraph 4, was expressly made to depend on a corresponding declaration by an organization (authority), representing a people fighting for its liberation, that is, a declaration made toward the depository, in which that organization pledges to apply the Conventions and the Protocol in this conflict³¹. This provision underscores the fact that Article 1 does not contain any unilateral application obligation. But at the same time it makes it clear that, for example, a colonial power--provided it is a party to the Protocol--cannot challenge the application of the Protocol and the Geneva Conventions relating to a liberation movement by the particular colonial people or make it contingent upon a prior recognition of the organization representing that people, if the liberation movement issues a declaration along the lines of Article 96³². Article 2 of the Geneva Conventions already expressly ruled out the nonrecognition of a state of war as a reason for the nonimplementation of the Conventions. This is a basic principle which we also encounter in the Article 4, A 3, of the Third Geneva Convention. Accordingly, members of armed forces, which subscribe to a government or authority not recognized by the custodial power, also are under the protection of the convention. Article 43 of the Protocol extends this principle to fighting forces as a whole. There would therefore seem to be no debate as to the idea that nonrecognition of the representative power, mentioned in Article 96, Paragraph 3, by the colonial power or the racist regime, neither entitles the depository to refuse acceptance and forwarding of such a declaration, nor can prevent the entry into force of the Conventions and the Protocol in such a conflict.

Juridically interesting and, under certain circumstances, practically significant is the fact that, via Article 1 and Article 96 of the Protocol, an additional procedure for the entry into force of the Geneva Conventions was introduced³³. That became possible because Article 1 of the Protocol does not try to justify an independent area of applicability. It confines itself to providing a closer definition of the area of applicability indicated in Article 2 of the Geneva Conventions and accepting it for the Protocol.

This is why the restrictive declaration on Article 1, issued by Great Britain at the time of signing, does not appear to be compatible with the purpose of the Protocol. In that declaration, Great Britain tried to restrict the concept of "armed conflict" to the existence of a certain intensity of military operations which must at least have reached the extent demanded in Protocol II, Article 1,³⁴. The criteria given for

civil war in Article 1 of Protocol II however cannot be transferred to international armed conflict. They were not set up in order to define what an "armed conflict" is. They are only used to rule out the application of the Protocol to an armed conflict which is below the defined intensity level. In contrast to that, Article 2 of the Geneva Conventions expressly provides that the Conventions--and thus also the Protocol--are to be applied in international armed conflict, regardless of the recognition of the state of war, in the case of complete or partial occupation or even when the occupation does not encounter any armed resistance. In other words, restrictive criteria, which reserve the application of the Geneva Conventions only for international armed conflicts featuring a certain intensity level, are expressly rejected.

Great Britain's restrictive declarations furthermore would in practice not make the application of the Protocol dependent on the declaration from the liberation movement but instead would make it dependent on the fact that the contracting party recognizes the liberation movement as a belligerent party. The meaning of Article 1, Paragraph 4, in connection with Article 96, Paragraph 3, however consists in the fact that the colonial power is not to be given an opportunity to prevent the application of humanitarian international law to these conflicts if the liberation movement should decide to issue a declaration of application along the lines of Article 96 of the Protocol. The fact that a liberation movement will be in a position to do that only if it has attained a certain degree of organization and strength does not justify the introduction of a recognition procedure by the colonial power.

The clear wording of Article 1 in Protocol I constitutes a definite end to a dark chapter of bloody colonial policy and racist oppression which is incompatible with the elementary basic principles of present-day international law. It is an important element in the moral foundation of the entire Protocol and reflects international law which is already applicable. It is therefore not available for political manipulation--not through reservations or unilateral interpretation declarations either. That would be incompatible with the moral foundations and therefore with the essence of the Protocol.

Difficulties, although of a different nature, also emerge in the determination of the area of application for Protocol II which relates to "protection of victims of noninternational armed conflict." The only provision in the Geneva Conventions, relating to noninternational armed conflicts, is Article 3 which is common to all Conventions. It establishes some basic principles which are also to be applied in those conflicts that are not of an international character, that do not take place between two or more countries, but that arise in the territory of a contracting party. It would have been obvious, as in Protocol I, here again to start with an identical area of application for Protocol II and merely to spell out, develop, and expand the rules to be applied in this case. This was also the purpose of a proposal submitted by the GDR during the

early phase of the conference³⁵. Finally, the experience of the international labor movement showed again and again that the securing of humanitarian principles is in the interest of the revolutionary movement, that it can serve as protection against the white terror of the reactionaries. But it turned out quickly that the majority of the countries, under existing conditions, was prepared only to accept a Protocol II with precise protection provisions if its area of applicability would be considerably narrower than the area of applicability of Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions. Protocol II therefore does not relate to all cases of non-international armed conflict but rather only to those cases in which the conflict has assumed a dimension close to international armed conflicts. The area of applicability of Protocol II was restricted in Article I to those cases of noninternational armed conflict in which the insurrectionists have attained such military strength that they control a part of the territory, that they carry out interconnected military operations, and that they can guarantee compliance with the Protocol's provisions.

The provisions of Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions are not modified by this regulation. This is expressly stated in Article 1, Paragraph 1, of Protocol II. This is also underscored once again in Paragraph 2 by the observation that the Protocol is to be applied, just as little as Article 3 of the Conventions, to those situations which do not represent armed conflicts but which merely constitute internal unrest or tensions, such as local uprisings or isolated and sporadic acts of violence³⁶. It is no accident that Paragraph 2 uses the general concept of armed conflict which was also used in Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions and that it does not fall back on the special case of armed conflict described in Article 1, Paragraph 1, Protocol II. The text of Article 1 of the Protocol thus, both in Paragraph 1, and in Paragraph 2, makes sure that the Protocol cannot be misused for interpreting Article 3 of the Conventions in a restrictive or expanding manner. Just how important this precaution was is indicated, for example, by the British declaration³⁷ in which the concept of "armed conflict" in itself is identified with situations in which the intensity of military operations has reached the degree described in Article 1, Paragraph 1, Protocol II. Beyond any doubt however, the concept of "armed conflict" in Article 2, Geneva Conventions, Article 1, Protocol I, Article 3, Geneva Conventions, and Article 1, Paragraph 2, Protocol II, is broader than the special case of armed conflict defined in Article 1, Paragraph 1, Protocol II. Great Britain's attempt to pass off the special case of Paragraph 1 as a definition of "armed conflict" would not only impermissibly restrict the area of applicability of Protocol I but would also signify a restriction for the area of applicability of Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions which is something nobody wanted and which was expressly ruled out also in Article 1 of Protocol II.

The complicated requirements, applicable to the use of Protocol II, unfortunately extensively restrict its practical significance. The extent to which--even if only through its moral effect--it will indeed contribute to the further development of international law, in the area of non-international armed conflict, is something that remains to be seen.

FOOTNOTES

1. See the text of the Protocols, ZEITSCHRIFT FUER AUSLAENDISCHES OEFFENTLICHES RECHT UND VOELKERRECHT [Periodical of Foreign Public Law and International Law] (ZaoeRV), 1978, pp 86 ff. Concerning the course and results of the conference, see B. Graefrath, "Further Developments in Humanitarian International Law," DEUTSCHE AUSSEN-POLITIK [German Foreign Policy], 1978, p 46 f.; M. Bothe, K. Ipsen, K. J. Partsch, "The Geneva Conference on Humanitarian International Law," ZaoeRV, 1976, pp 1 ff.; M. Mohr, "Die Genfer Abkommen und ihre Ergaenzungsprotokolle" [The Geneva Conventions and Their Supplementary Protocols], Dresden, 1979.
2. See J. Pictet, "The Principles of International Humanitarian Law," Geneva, 1966; O. N. Klestov, I. G. Blishchenko, "Humanitarian International Law," Moscow, 1977, p 31 f., Russian. See also the comments by French representatives in CDDH/SR. 56, paragraph 3.
3. See J. H. Fried, "The Electronic Battlefield," New Priorities, 1972, p 19; id., "Vietnam and International Law," New Jersey, 1967, p 69 f.; "The Aggression of the United States in Vietnam," Protocol of the International Vietnam Conference, Berlin, 1969.
4. Text of preamble, "Motion by Socialist States, CDDH/I/337 and Add. 1, CDDH/I/SR. 69," par. 25.
5. For example, U.S.A.: CDDH/SR. 11, paragraph 47, CDDH/I/SR. 2, paragraph 51, CDDH/I/14, paragraph 26; the Netherlands: CDDH/I/SR., paragraph 40. See also A. Cassese, "Current Trends in the Development of the Law of Armed Conflicts," RIVISTA TRIMESTRALE DI DIRITTO PUBBLICO [Quarterly Review of Public Law], Rome, 1974, p 1411 f.
6. See A. I. Poltorak, L. I. Zavinskiy, "Armed Conflicts and International Law," Moscow, 1976, p 79 f., Russian; O. N. Klestov, I. G. Blishchenko, loc. cit., p 118 f.
7. Norway: CDDH/I/SR. 2, paragraph 21, CDDH/SF. 10, paragraph 2; proposal by Philippines: CDDH/214.
8. See CDDH/427 relative to CDDH/402 as well as the introduction by Hussain to the simplified draft (CDDH/49, paragraph 10 f.). Another short version for Protocol II had already been proposed by Canada in 1975 (CDDH/212).
9. See, for example, the opening declarations by the GDR, CDDH/SR. 13, paragraph 42, of Czechoslovakia, CDDH/SR. 13, paragraph 16, and Sweden, CDDH/SR. 14, paragraph 10; also C. Pilloud, "The 1949 Geneva Conventions for the Protection of War Victims, the Additional Protocols of 1977, and Nuclear Arms," JAHRBUCH FUER INTERNATIONALES RECHT [International Law Yearbook], Vol 21, West Berlin, 1978, p 171.

10. See also K. Ipsen, *ZaeRV*, 1976, p 43. Rosas came out with more reticent comments in "International Law and the Use of Nuclear Weapons in Essays in Honor of Erik Castrén," Helsinki, 1979, p 85 f.
11. All emphasis in this paragraph and in the next one supplied by me--the author.
12. This basic principle was expressly underscored already in the opening address by France (CDDH/SR. 12, paragraph 29).
13. American Society of International Law, 69th Annual Meeting, 1975, p. 253. Less fortunate is also the statement by Pilloud: "Most of the delegations in effect seem tacitly to have agreed that the use of nuclear arms is not regulated by these two Protocols..." (loc. cit., p 173), especially since it conflicts in its summary: "The Protocols themselves set forth general rules for which there are no express or tacit exceptions" (loc. cit., p 179).
14. CDDH/SR. 13, paragraph 36.
15. CDDH/SR. 58, paragraph 119.
16. See CDDH/SR. 58, paragraph 82. See also "Report to the Secretary of State," *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW*, 1978, p. 406.
17. See *ZaeRV*, 1978, p 159.
18. CDDH/SR. 56, paragraph 3.
19. See, for example, for the USSR, CDDH/SR. 12, paragraph 42.
20. See also K. Ipsen, *ZaeRV*, 1976, p 43.
21. Introduction, p 2.
22. This question is discussed in detail by Rosas (see also loc. cit.).
23. CDDH/3, Introduction, p 2: "It should be recalled that, apart from some provisions of general nature, the ICRC has not included in its drafts any rules governing atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons." "Also, the so-called conventional weapons, which may nevertheless cause unnecessary suffering or have indiscriminate effects, are still not covered by the draft Protocols." One cannot understand why Pilloud (loc. cit., p 172) quotes the introduction to the Protocol draft but not the text of the introduction of the commentary on the Protocol draft.
24. An example along these lines is the Convention on the Ban on military or other hostile use of means for acting upon the environment, dated

10 December 1976, German text in DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, special issue 1977, "United Nations Activity Review, 1976-1977," p 128 f. It can be considered as a special contractual guarantee for compliance with Article 55 of the Protocol. The Conference outlawing certain conventional weapons plays a similar role with relation to Article 35 of the Protocol.

25. See the text in ZaocKV, 1978, pp 157, 159.
26. Obviously also in K. Ipsen, loc. cit., p 44.
27. It did not mention national liberation wars at all and merely presented for consideration the application of prisoner-of-war status to members of liberation movements in connection with Article 42 of the draft.
28. See CDDH/I/11 and Add.
29. See CDDH/I/5 and Add., later combined in CDDH/I/41 and CDDH/I/71.
30. See CDDH/48/Rev 1, paragraphs 7-14, CDDH/I/SR. 2-14; also A. Cassese, loc. cit., p 1411 f.; O. Hugler, "Comments on the Conference of Diplomats Concerning Humanitarian International Law," NEUE JUSTIZ [New Justice], 1975, pp 617 ff.; for the final vote, see CDDH/SR. 36.
31. See CDDH/I/381, paragraph 77, CDDH/SR. 46.
32. From this aspect, the wording under 1 h is questionable in the declaration issued by Great Britain during the signing of the Protocols (see ZaocKV, 1978, p 159).
33. See CDDH/SR. 36, paragraph 73, CDDH/SR. 56, Annex p 13.
34. Concerning Article 1, Protocol I, the declaration states "that the term 'armed conflict' of itself and in its context implies a certain level of intensity of military operations which must be present before the Conventions or the Protocol are to apply to any given situation, and that this level of intensity cannot be less than that required for the application of Protocol II, by virtue of Article 1 of that Protocol, to international conflicts" (ZaocKV, 1978, p 158--emphasis supplied by me, B. G.).
35. See CDDH/I/88, CDDH/I/SR. 22, paragraphs 24-28.
36. See the declaration of the GDR, CDDH/SR. 56, Annex p 13; B. Graefrath, "Third Session of Geneva Conference on Further Development of Humanitarian International Law," DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, 1976, p 156 f. The interpretation given by Bothe conflicts with the origin and history of Paragraph 2 (see ZaocKV, 1975, p 646), as well as the statement by the FRG on the vote (see CDDH/SR. 49, Annex p 1).
37. See footnote 34.

BULGARIA

LYUDMILA ZHIVKOVA SPEECH AT CONGRESS

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 May 80 pp 2-4

[Speech by Lyudmila Zhivkova, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Commission for Science, Culture, and Education of the BCP Central Committee Politburo: "The High Mission of Education--Responsibility to the Future"]

[Text] Honored delegates and guests:

Dear comrades:

Today marks the opening of the first congress of Bulgarian public education. This is a major and a remarkable event in our social and spiritual life. In the beautiful May days, gathered in this congress hall is the flower of that part of our people whose vocation, responsibility, and task is to engage in the most complex and most beautiful creation of the socialist social system--the new socialist man.

The BCP Central Committee greets you most warmly, dear comrades, on the occasion of the convention and opening of the first Bulgarian public education congress, wishing you new great successes in the implementation of your highly noble mission of converting into practice the theses and decisions of the July 1979 BCP Central Committee Plenum.

Our party, people, and public ascribe great importance to this congress. They are aware of its high responsibility and role.

The public education congress is a high level nationwide forum for the discussion and resolution of all basic problems related to the building, development, advancement, and practical operation of the system of socialist education in the Bulgarian People's Republic.

The public education congress represents the further expansion and intensification of socialist democracy in our country. It is a collective public organ for the most active participation of the people's masses in the management of education--an extension of the long and most progressive traditions of our spiritual development starting with the period of the

renaissance to this day, and the embodiment and personification of the April educational policy of the BCP.

The public education congress represents the unification of the efforts of party, state, public, teaching, scientific, economic, and other organizations and forces in the country for the sake of achieving a new upsurge in the development of our socialist educational system and the reorganization of education work in accordance with the needs of the mature socialist society and the implementation of the theses on the development of education approved at the July 1979 BCP Central Committee Plenum.

The main task of the congress is to make everyone involved in their execution and establishment aware of the general objective, new directions, and new criteria in the further development of education, and to mobilize the forces, possibilities, efforts, and creativity of everyone for the practical implementation of the lofty objective and the new tasks and criteria. Through the power of the collective mind, collective will, and united efforts of the entire society, it must provide a new strong impetus in the efforts to improve Bulgarian education. Such is the meaning and objective of our congress.

The BCP Central Committee is confident that the first public education congress will implement this major and responsible task.

Comrades!

The time in which we live inexorably gives ever greater priority to the education of the people and of every individual as the basic prerequisite for our successful all-round development, and for progress and prosperity in all fields of the social, material, and spiritual development of the country.

The basic problems and the basic tasks stemming from them on the further reorganization of our education, in accordance with the needs and requirements of the mature socialist society, were profoundly elaborated and substantiated in the theses on the development of education in the Bulgarian People's Republic, and in the opening and concluding speeches by Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the Central Committee Plenum on problems of education.

The elaboration and adoption of the theses is a major success of the April education policy of the BCP and an original contribution to the theory and practice of socialist education. At the same time, the theses and plenum documents are a specific program for practical work for all party, state, public, education, scientific, cultural, and other organs in the field of education.

The mastering and implementation of the theses is now the main task and main criterion governing the work of every person involved in education

and instruction at all levels and in all units, from grammar school to the Ministry of Public Education, and from the teacher to the chairman of the Higher Education Council.

The theses and the problems, formulations, and tasks elaborated in the theses are also the platform of the work of our congress. We have in the theses a contemporary creative Marxist-Leninist elaboration of education problems as well as an expanded program for their successful solution.

The nationwide discussion of the draft theses and the preparations for the congress acquainted specialists, delegates, and millions of people in Bulgaria with the ideas and development of the theses.

We shall hear the report submitted by the minister of public education on the specific work to be done in the implementation of the tasks based on the BCP Central Committee theses. The congress will discuss and adopt a national program for the implementation of the plenum's decisions.

For all these reasons, allow me not to discuss in detail in my speech all the problems which provide the directions and content of the further development and advancement of our educational system, but to deal only with some central aspects of this major social project.

Let me begin by saying that the current stage of our development, the building of a mature socialist society, make the task of the reorganization of our educational system urgent, central, and exceptionally important.

There are times when one can and must go only forward. Universal principles and historical laws determine this concept which reflects both the requirements of the time and the prospects for the future. Our dynamic and contradictory age, rich in phenomena and processes, is an age of great change, of a transition of mankind from the kingdom of exploitation to the kingdom of freedom, from a capitalist to a socialist and communist society. The universal laws of contemporary development are historically colored both with the confrontation and the cooperation of a variety of forces, trends, phenomena, and processes which are appearing and continuingly developing today.

It would be insufficient to say that the earth is pulsating with a restless rhythm. The planet is burning! It is within this fire that, gradually, the imperfection and regression of the old world burn up and wither away, and that the shoots of a new awareness are daringly born, and that in the struggle against development difficulties the future is shaped along with the need to build the new world through the collective efforts of all people and nations--the world of communism--ruled by high humanism and justice, with the triumph of freedom and the beauty of man and of man's work and creativity.

The daring of the age, and the need to march forward are manifested in the thrust and the struggle waged by thousands and millions of people in all parts of the globe for social equality, in the sharp class contradictions, in the tempestuous development of the sociorevolutionary process, in the deliberate involvement and participation of millions of people in the development of progressive mass movements, and in the struggle for peace, disarmament, detente, and assertion of peaceful coexistence as a historical necessity and prerequisite for the future.

Could anyone deny the dynamics of the revolutionary-renovation processes taking place today on earth? It would be unnecessary to trace in detail the development of revolutionary trends in the 19th century. Suffice it to point out the objective and nature of the Great October Revolution and trace the cause and relation tie between the main events characterizing the development of the Soviet state in order to forecast and predict the development of the global revolutionary process in the forthcoming decades and to define the nature of the age in which the people of the 21st century will live.

The deployment of the struggle for peace and disarmament, the development of the global communist, workers, and national-liberation movements, the energizing of trade union cooperation, the purposefulness of the women's movement, and the assertion of the place and role of culture as a factor of cooperation and rapprochement among countries and nations, the development of such mass national and supranational processes, contains the expansion of the trend and desire expressed by progressive mankind to surmount the restrictions and prejudices of the past and direct the development of countries, nations, and the planet in new directions.

However, the desire to renovate and build a new world requires new boundaries. The 20th century, dynamic and filled with revolutionary explosions and social struggles, will be recorded in the history of mankind as a century in which human knowledge surmounted the restrictions of the earth, emerged in space, and opened possibilities for infinite daring and discovery. This will be the century of the scientific and technical revolution which gathered together, integrated, and synthesized age-making discoveries in various scientific disciplines and armed man with a new knowledge of nature and of universal laws operating within it while, at the same time, taking mankind to the threshold of the great unknown, to future discoveries which will qualitatively change life on earth in the centuries to come.

Like any conscious activity, science is not self-seeking. As a way and means for the study of reality and the various forms of life, it broadens the limits of human knowledge, constantly including new areas and fields of reality in man's mind, actively contributing to the broadening of the human consciousness. The extensive and narrowly specialized scientific approach, typical of the first half of the 20th century, having led

is an even greater quantitative growth and division of scientific disciplines, in recent decades, as a result of most significant fundamental discoveries, has yielded to a qualitatively new direction in the development of this area. The new data supplied by interdisciplinary sciences, the ever more purposeful utilization of the comprehensive-synthesized approach and method in science, and the trend which is developing today are not automatic additions. They are an accumulation of new scientific experience based on the simultaneous-comprehensive and parallel effort and development of natural phenomena and processes in space which, in order to be properly understood in practical terms and consciously controlled and used for the good of man, should be considered in the light of their multiple-aspect cause and effect relationship and universal-integral subordination.

The considerable and progressively increasing scientific knowledge, unquestionably, calls for the use of new ways and means in scientific practice. This will make it possible for each relatively separate scientific discipline to find its place and role within the boundaries of the complex scientific set of knowledge and to integrate its efforts within the comprehensive discovery and mastering of natural and social processes, enabling every scientist and specialist to broaden the range of his scientific outlook and contribute more fully and competently to the clarification of specific scientific phenomena not one-sidedly but from the viewpoint of comprehensive reality. These new trends in the development of science, necessitated and determined by the age in which we live, will continue to develop and to intensify.

The tempestuous development of the scientific and technical revolution—a characteristic and specific phenomenon of the 20th century—a phenomenon which directly accompanies the development of scientific knowledge, will continue to broaden the field and boundaries of its possibilities. In the realm of technology, mankind is entering a qualitatively new age. The "man-machine" interrelationship is qualitatively changing under the influence of the practical applications of scientific and technical discoveries in production processes. Machines are gaining, to an ever greater extent, the ability to function on the basis of the intellect invested in them, and to resolve a large amount of important intellectual problems which were previously resolved by man alone. The dynamic development of microelectronics, microprocessors, and bioelectronics, and their direct link with production have raised to a qualitatively new level labor productivity and required the establishment of new and more progressive forms of organization of public and productive labor, offering man the possibility to control complex production systems.

However, whereas these are the positive trends in the development of the world and of scientific knowledge, all of us know that they are always accompanied by the ulcers of destruction and decay. The mass unemployment, growing economic crisis, and inflation in the capitalist world,

illiteracy, disease, hunger, exploitation of labor, and environmental pollution are antithetical trends and phenomena which are developing along with the arms race, growing terrorism, intensified national policy pursued by reactionary forces, and the deliberate internationalization of international tension by the military-industrial complex of the United States and the reactionary NATO circle. Scientific and technological achievements, and the minds of scientists and specialists are used for the development and stockpiling of destructive nuclear weapons. The military arsenals of the world have already accumulated enough weapons to destroy the earth 15 times over.

The development of science and technology, mass social processes, and social ideas are actions and factors which are not separate or isolated from the development of man himself or the development of the collective forces and capabilities of human society.

That is why the basic problem today facing politicians, statesmen, and men of science, technology, culture, and art is the following: Will mankind succeed in avoiding a nuclear catastrophe and, therefore, would man be able to find the necessary efforts to overcome the limitations and imperfections of his development at the present stage of his historical evolution? Would he be able to adequately combine in his mind and to assimilate not only a tremendous volume of scientific and technical information but to retain and broaden his ability to develop creatively, subordinating the tremendous development of the scientific and technical revolution not to a self-creating machine and not to destruction and elimination but to the high natural expediency which formed and organized man and which gave him the ability to develop and improve and to steadily expand his potential.

Considering on a parallel basis the development of the revolutionary process in the world, which includes millions of people on earth in active political and social life, and the dynamic pace of the development of science, technology, and culture, a process which exposes to knowledge and active creation work thousands and millions of human individuals, it would be easy to predict that the energy and capabilities of millions of people, involved in the collective phenomenon of changing and renovating the world, will transform it in proportion to the quality, purposefulness, and effect of these forces. Consequently, in the next decades, the boundaries of the collective human knowledge will be expanded considerably. This is a circumstance which calls for the mastering and establishment in the life of society of a qualitatively new approach to the molding, development, upbringing, and education of man himself, making him consistent to the new requirements of the age and making him an active participant in the creation of the necessary social prerequisites for the creative realization of every member and citizen of society.

Enabling a person to live his life fully, to be a creatively rich and socially active individual, is the forthcoming task triggered by the

natural legitimate development of historical processes on earth and based on the socialist way of life. Essentially, this means the shaping and development of human capabilities which will make possible and natural the encompassing of complex processes and phenomena characteristic of today and tomorrow, and expand the absorption capabilities of the mind to reflect the rich comprehensiveness of reality and the dynamics of the development of life. In the spirit of Marx's visions we could say that the forthcoming tasks of the evolution call for the adoption of a comprehensive approach to the shaping and development of man who, as a comprehensively developed individual, will develop in harmonious unity his "essential forces," a unity which will reveal the true wealth of a person and his tremendous creative possibilities.

As the contemporaries of today's dynamic age we, the members of the mature socialist society, are aware of the greatness and purposefulness of its material, social, and spiritual gains, and the scales of the revolutionary classes in the course of which the new communist civilization is born and develops. Not only does the will and daring to go forth develop in the course of difficulties and the struggle, but, every day, the need is crystalized to defend and assert in life the objective of the high communist ideal which guides us, through the creative mastery of acquired human experience, enhancing and broadening the cultural and spiritual development of man and society along the evolutionary spiral. As free and conscious makers of their history, the peoples of the countries with real socialism are building a new society which, precisely by the strength of its basic guiding principle, can combine within a single and unbreakable entity the struggle for cultural progress with the ideas of the revolutionary reorganization of society, and not only insure social equality but really defend the inalienable right of man to develop as a creator, and to expand and improve his potential. In the course of its purposeful progress, asserting the infinite nature of creativity, the freedom of the winner, and the power of collective toil, the highly humane objective of the mature socialist society turns the future into the present, preparing us for the future, making us the contemporaries and the makers of the future.

The purposeful construction work on which the dynamic development of the Bulgarian People's Republic is based under socialist and stable and firm rates of growth, is clearly visible against the background of development of international relations and the tremendous and conflicting difficulties characteristic of the development of mankind and of earth today. Legitimately and systematically surmounting the difficulties of revolutionary renovation, marching forth, and surmounting restrictions at each stage, reborn and renovated following the April plenum, under the guiding and organizing force of the party, the country created conditions for the formulation and solution of broad and comprehensive strategic problems.

Through the introduction and assertion in all realms of new scientific management mechanisms which enhance the level of social management; through the utilization of the complex-target, multiplication, and economic approach and mechanism; through raising the level of social labor productivity; through the creation of conditions for the gradual introduction of comprehensive automation of labor; and through the task of linking the highest achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the gains of the socialist society and production practice for the intellectualizing of social life and labor, our party, country, and people are developing and asserting the high level of their maturity.

However, who could say, and be right in saying, that such objectives, tasks, and processes characteristic of socialist Bulgaria are self-seeking, automatically acting forms of social administration and management? Where is man, where is his place, role, development, and self-development in the dynamics of this social reorganization? This is the main question facing socialism.

Enhancing the level of social management we reveal the trend and objective of including the broad popular masses in the management of society and in enhancing the scientific level of the organization and development of society!

The assertion of the socio-state principle in the management of culture shows the need for a cultural and spiritual self-development of man and society and the participation of the people themselves in the managing and organization of cultural processes and of the life of the nation!

The use of the comprehensive-integral and multiplication approaches reveals the desire to broaden the possibilities and capabilities of man to encompass within his mind the multi-faceted interdependence of reality and of its development, and to learn to manage and guide social, economic, cultural, and scientific programs and systems.

The assertion of the principle of the new economic mechanism emphasizes the need for asserting the scientific and planned approach to the organization of social activities, and make optimal and effective use of the resources, forces, and capabilities of society, and enhance the feeling of labor responsibility and discipline!

The task of upgrading the organization of social labor and raising the level and quality of labor itself shows the vital need for man and society to organize, guide, and steadily enhance the level of this most necessary blessed factor and means for the development of man himself and for the development of evolution!

The intellectualization of social labor and life, aimed at reaching and mastering the highest achievements of the scientific and technical revolution in the world offers the possibility to broaden the human outlook and awareness and the purposeful and conscious energizing of mental capabilities--the highest capability which nature has granted man, giving him the right to be responsible for his own destinies along with a responsibility to the future!

Could we imagine today our development without the basic objective and task set by the 10th Party Congress--completing the building of the material and technical base of the mature socialist society on a parallel basis with cultural and spiritual growth, and the shaping and perfecting of the individual and society. How many nations in the world could be proud of the decisions and the expanded program adopted and ratified at the December plenum which called on the state and society, in the course of their development, to dedicate efforts for the satisfaction not only of the material but the spiritual needs of society? Were such decisions not really accompanied by the establishment and steady improvement of the socio-governmental principle in the management of culture, the extensive democratization of the national cultural process through the involvement of thousands and millions of people in the management of cultural life, and the enhancement of the social role of culture and the assertion of its significance and essential force as a factor in the development and self-development of man and society?

The beautiful, daring, and highly humane objective of the communist esthetic education reflects Bulgarian aspiration and progress toward the future. Who could doubt that the objective and task of developing man and society according to the laws of duty, to awaken the creative principle in man, and to improve in a steadily rising progression the ability of every individual to shape and develop himself as an all-round harmonious personality, to convert labor into a need and a creativity, and to bring closer the daring human dream of conquering the laws of social and national development and be a creator and a winner is not the factual assertion of the place of man, the nation, and society, of striving toward this objective?

Comrades:

One of the basic activities on which each civilization, culture, and society, individual, nation, and country is based is education. The objectives and tasks of the development of any educational system and the organization and management of its mechanism have always been closely and directly dependent on socioeconomic and cultural conditions, and the motive forces governing the development of society. The socialist social system has subordinated education to the social reconstruction and revolutionary renovation of the world. The rich historical experience of the

Bulgarian people and the considerable practical experience in the field of education were creatively reinterpreted, enriched, and raised to a new level by the Bulgarian Communist Party. The Bulgarian people may be proud of and properly assess the role of the party and the socialist state in enhancing the functions and social role of education in the development of the socialist society.

The legitimate dynamic development of cultural and educational processes in the stage of the mature socialist society and the latest trends in Bulgaria's social development were reflected in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's letter to the Komsomol Central Committee. Adopting the comprehensive and strategic approach characteristic of him and the party, he clearly formulated the question of the increased role and responsibility of the subjective factor, the need to adopt a comprehensive approach to the molding of the youth and man, the creation of real conditions for comprehensive and highly effective realization of potential, and for enhancing and developing the quality and ability of man to work and to create. He emphasized that the comprehensive development of the socialist society qualitatively changes social requirements concerning education, the socio-economic functions of education, and the objectives and the training of the people in this area.

Discussing extensively and profoundly the need for a reorganization of the educational system, the education theses adopted by the BCP Central Committee Plenum on education, formulated the main, the basic objective which should guide the development of this area and integrate the efforts of all subsystems, specialists, and means, and of the entire public, and subordinate the organization and management of the educational system. The theses describe the basic principles for the reorganization of education and elaborate the reorganization's strategy and tactics.

In his introductory speech at the plenum, Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasized that the problem now is to convert from "the development of individual human features and capabilities to the determination and development of man's comprehensive capabilities, talents, and qualities, shaping a many-faceted and, in the future, comprehensively developed individual capable of fully realizing his potential in life." This is a task formulated by the age, by social development, and by the awakening inner need of man himself to develop and prove himself comprehensively. Today, Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasized, a many-faceted individual cannot be only the individual of the future, for this is a steady progress made by the socially liberated man toward the future, toward knowledge and truth. It is the molding of the human possibility to live according to the laws of beauty. "It is a question not only of firm knowledge but of the ability creatively, daringly, and independently to think, have a feeling for the new, the ability to engage in steady and independent training and the self-advancement of the individual," of "self-discipline and self-control," and "the molding of a high feeling of responsibility."

The documents adopted at the education plenum combine, in a dialectical state of unity, the historical and cultural traditions of the Bulgarian people, the age-old experience of our country and other countries in the field of educational practice, and a profound analysis of the condition of the educational system and the requirements of contemporary Bulgaria. They take into consideration the effective synthesis of all achievements and prospects of future social development. They earmark the main directions in the organization and management of the educational system, take into consideration the basic processes in the future development of knowledge and man, and must be considered documents of programmatic and strategic importance to the overall development of our socialist society.

I hope to be expressing the thoughts and feelings of everyone here by saying that we, delegates to the first public education congress, representatives of the multithousands-strong army of education workers, teachers, instructors, and students, address our warmest gratitude to the party's Central Committee for the party's creative work, high feeling of responsibility, concern, and attention paid to the development of education, expressed most vividly anew in the decisions of the July BCP Central Committee Plenum.

The congress has all the proper grounds and rights to assert to the party and the Bulgarian people that the army of education workers, teachers, and public figures will assume with dignity and courage the high responsibility assigned to us. We shall dedicate our efforts, daring, and talent to the all-round development of man and society, to enhancing the role of education and the school, to implement the plenum's decisions, and to raise the development and management of education to the level of the great tasks facing the mature socialist society.

Comrades:

The comprehensive and many-faceted development and full realization of the potential of the individual is our highest objective and the highest criterion of the maturity of Bulgarian education.

The task of the comprehensive and many-faceted human and social development facing education contains farsightedness, beauty, and aspiration. Daring, striving toward knowledge, fearlessness in science, boldness of discovery, and creative recklessness are necessary qualities which not only help to expand and develop the mind but without which no progress is possible.

The greatest minds have dreamed and struggled for comprehensive, harmonious, and universal development. Many daring dreamers and bold heroes were burned at the stakes or died at the barricades, defending these lofty ideals with selflessness and conviction. We, the people who are building a socialist society, are the heirs of the eternal flame which burned in the hearts of those looking at the future, and to the rich cultural and

spiritual experience passed on through the centuries, and to the true perpetuators of this struggle.

The main objective facing education reflects the maturity of the socialist society. It bears and reflects the principle of social equality as a prerequisite without which no comprehensive and universal development can be achieved. This objective also reflects the stage of the new qualitative and quantitative accumulations and changes in the social, socioeconomic, and cultural development of the socialist society. However, this objective also bears and reflects the natural expediency and need for the comprehensive, integral, many-faceted, and harmonious development of man and society as confirmed by the latest basic scientific discoveries.

As the highly organized product of nature, bearing within himself all consecutive stages of development, raised to a new quality level, man has all the necessary senses, functions, and prerequisites for a proper, comprehensive, and many-faceted reflection of the processes and phenomena of life. The comprehensive-integral organization of the human species, and the parallel and steady functioning of its awareness on several levels are also capable to perceive and reflect reality on a comprehensive basis. The interdependence between man as the microcosmos and nature or the universe as the macrocosmos, and between the individual and society today, in the age of dynamic revolutionary changes, discoveries, and renovations in all fields of life, demands, more than ever before, a new approach to education and upbringing. The expansion and improvement of perceptive and cognitive human abilities as a factor for the study and mastering of the laws ruling nature and society, the broadening of the human awareness as a function reflecting, assimilating, and changing life, will raise the level of development of man himself and of society to a new quality standard.

Comprehensive development is not an automatic total of knowledge, capabilities, and activities. The many-faceted and comprehensive realization of the human potential is not a self-seeking activity in various fields of knowledge and life or the mastering and practicing of a number of professions simultaneously. The ideal and objective of a comprehensive all-round development and the practical possibility to achieve it are contained in the comprehensively organized and many-faceted human personality, in the simultaneous and parallel development and implementation of a variety of biological, emotional, mental, and spiritual human activities; the close interdependence between man and nature; man's ability to penetrate into and study the principles, laws, and patterns of nature and society; and the ability to accept or reflect social reality not passively but actively, and deliberately to assimilate and process knowledge.

Man's comprehensive development is required by the comprehensive development of human society itself, the interrelationships existing among different social areas, and the rapidly developing process of synthesizing scientific knowledge and the sciences of man, nature, and society.

The implementation of this objective is determined by the lofty communist ideals and required by the stage of socio-historical development.

In order to properly understand the nature of comprehensive development we must consider it not only from the viewpoint of the external manifestation and effect of this phenomenon but also of man's inner nature. Consequently, above all, the purpose of comprehensive development is the development of man not in general but of his potential to reflect and learn the laws of nature and of social development, and to control and change them in accordance with his knowledge and high feeling of responsibility.

Comprehensive and harmonious development calls for surmounting the old understanding of one-sided and narrowly specialized human training and development. This approach is not consistent with the purpose of the education process and of the comprehensive and creative development of human capabilities. Narrow, one-sided specialization maims the development of man. It is unnatural, for it ignores the complex organization and functions of the human body and mind. It is a question not only of integration and equal development of the emotional and the rational principles but of the comprehensive harmonizing of actions and the development of all natural principles inherent in man--physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual. What is needed is the uninterrupted and purposeful training of the students to live all aspects of life, to awaken and develop their creative principle and spiritual awareness, comprehensively to expand their capabilities and, in the course of steady improvements, to creatively synthesize and harmonize the individual sides, functions, and activities of the mind and the knowledge it carries and reflects. It is a question of the active and conscious attitude toward and participation of every person not in individual social problems but the comprehensive tasks of historical and social development.

Comprehensive development must be considered as a process of awakening, shaping, development, and improvement of human capabilities and knowledge. The development of the process is impossible without the awakening, energizing, and steady action of the creative principle or of the force which can guide and direct progress, or without the development of an inner need and aspiration toward self-development and self-advancement. That is why it is erroneous to pit comprehensive against all-round development and realization of potential, or to separate them sharply. As the general objective of education properly emphasizes, this will be a process developing in time and based on the conditions of individual and social development. The broadening of the mind itself, the development of capabilities, the intensification and comprehensive encompassing of knowledge, and increased practical experience will develop on a spiraling basis. In other words, the comprehensive development will have the nature of a process rising as a spiral.

Lenin himself in his "Philosophy Notebooks" and in his lecture on the state raised the question of the spiraling development of knowledge and of social processes. He called for accepting as basis the spiral-shaped gnosiological principle and stipulates that this is the only process which could reflect the development of trends, phenomena, and knowledge as a process and that the creative mastering of the world, nature, and society as an open and steadily changing and developing system is possible only on the basis of a spiral principle. Through the monolithic nature of his mind, innovational approach to action, and broad revolutionary activity aimed at social renovation, he proved in practice the effect of this principle and the effectiveness and quality not only of individual but social development and realization.

The mastering of this principle in both the expansion of knowledge and the development of man and society is a natural necessity proved by the latest scientific discoveries according to which the memorizing and transfer of genetic information have a spiral structure. The basis of the spiral development is the synthesis or conscious selective activity which converts self-development into a steady and dynamic process which cannot have a definitive or static nature. The process of knowledge and accumulation of experience becomes an uninterrupted discovery and creativity. It is based on the dialectical cause and effect relationship, the quality and the nature of labor, and the direction of development at each preceding stage, as well as the ability to steadily and in a growing progression maintain a development pace.

Unquestionably, the striving toward comprehensive development will lead to a growth of the conscious attitude toward life, and of a feeling of self-discipline. Individual and social responsibility will rise. Self-development and self-discipline will become a factor which will gradually begin to dominate external labor, administrative, or social coercion, for it will be carried by the inner need for work and creative accomplishment.

The process of comprehensive and many-faceted development is based on labor. This is a factor, a need, and an action without which the real development of potential creative capabilities and their improvement would be impossible. Whereas a formal attitude toward labor and labor coercion are the source and means of existence, the conscious, purposeful, and comprehensive development would be impossible without a change in the attitude toward labor, without the transformation of labor into a natural inner need and necessity, and without its gradual transformation from a factor of external coercion and effort into a vital need, into a conscious and creative attitude toward life, into the strongest possible factor of development and self-development. The factual accomplishment and practical implementation of comprehensive development would be impossible without raising the level and quality of labor activity and realization, and without the conversion of labor into a highly effective, highly organized, and skillful socially useful work.

The comprehensive molded and intensively developed awareness means the birth of a feeling of boundless opportunities, when everyone, through his conscious efforts and labor creativity, through the daring of discovery, will participate in the laboratory of life, and will voluntarily, freely, and daringly realize and steadily encompass the levels of development along the ascending spiral. Boundless improvement prospects will become possible, for man will develop through the realized need for progress. The all-round development of man can realistically develop only as a process based on cooperation, when the labor and creativity of every member of society are respected and considered, when advancement is not a self-seeking aim or spiritual separation but a socially useful accomplishment, serving human progress, creating for the sake of the communist future and the universal good.

Comrades:

In order for the main objective of education to be achieved, it is necessary, above all, to clearly realize that the purpose of schools and the educational system which, so far, has been historically determined by the stages of socialist development--to provide the necessary knowledge and shape and develop certain capabilities in the children, the growing generation, and man--must be replaced by the higher responsibility and objective of the mature socialist society. Developing the dynamism and accelerating human social development require concentrating education on converting knowledge from a self-seeking aim and limited experience to an active factor in the molding and advancement of the individual and society, and converting the development and expansion of the creative principle and of labor into a conscious inner need, a desired improvement factor. This is the essence of the main objective facing education today.

The objection may be voiced that in the past as well the knowledge provided by the schools and the education process served human development and the assertion of the socialist social system.

This is so but it is true to the extent to which knowledge has always paralleled human development and the mastery of knowledge has been a natural function of the thinking person. The socialist society subordinated this knowledge to the social renovation of the world. It is not a question of denying or belittling the great past achievements of our educational system.

However, a more attentive and profound penetration into the essence of the new objective facing the educational system, aimed at the many-faceted gradual conversion to comprehensive development would make it clear that it is a question of a qualitatively new attitude toward human knowledge and progress. From a means of existence and social change of the world, knowledge must also become a means for the improvement and self-advancement of man and society, into a factor for the creative development of all potential forces and capabilities of the individual, and a factor of

the communist mastering and changing of the world. The task is not only to master the knowledge so far acquired or to develop one or another capability but to enable man to develop daringly, boldly, and creatively, to broaden the range of his outlook, to become familiar with the universal laws and patterns on which the development of nature and society are based, consciously to master them, and to control and subordinate them to the current future social tasks.

Consequently, the following must be accomplished in order to achieve a qualitative reorganization of the educational system:

The new objective must imbue and integrate the overall activities of the education process. It must be present in each part and cell of the comprehensive and many-faceted functions of the educational system and of all its subsystems. It must entirely subordinate to its expediency the specific practical ways and means of educational practices;

The mastering and assertion of a new approach and ways and means of presentation and mastering of the knowledge of man, nature, and society. The establishment of an integral-comprehensive, synthesized, and parallel method of teaching and presentation of knowledge is necessitated both by the integral-comprehensive organization, functioning, and development of man himself and the parallel and comprehensive manifestation and development of phenomena and processes in life, and their unity and interdependence in time, place, and cause and effect relationships. The purpose of this method is not to pursue a self-seeking memorizing and mastering of knowledge but the molding of an awareness and an attitude toward life, the development of the ability to broaden the outlook on a steady spiraling basis, the creation of labor habits, and the development of the individual capabilities of children and students to creatively assimilate the nature of processes and phenomena regardless of whether or not they are considered from the viewpoint of old or recent history or of society, nature, or the universe;

The stage reached by the development of the scientific and technical revolution in the world and its direct ties with production practice also determines the mastering of the comprehensive and complex approach to the development of students and of man. In order for modern man to be able to master and control complex automated and cybernetic mechanisms and systems which are entering production and nonproduction areas we need the development of highly skilled specialists capable of mastering the complex scientific and technical ideas and, at the same time, actively and creatively to participate in the production process without converting into mechanical appendages of the new cybernetic systems. That is why, as the theses emphasize, the educational system must develop at the proper time professionally and broadly trained specialists, surmounting the one-sidedness of narrow specializing; educational practice must be linked even more directly and concretely with the present and future requirements covering the development of the national economy and the expediency of training cadres and specialists;

The solution of this problem is directly linked with the linking of the curriculums and of mastered scientific knowledge, experience, and skills, with practical and topical requirements of life and social development. In the years to come conditions must be created for the closer and more factual coordination and purposeful linking of curriculums with the planned development and future needs of the national economy. The second and third levels of the unified polytechnical school and the entire education system must train highly skilled cadres and specialists ready to engage in specific socially useful labor to meet the needs and requirements of the development of the production process in the fields of economics, science, culture, and education;

The purpose and concept of comprehensive development and realization call for a more mature and comprehensive study and mastering of the principles and laws which lay at the foundations and characterize the functions of the mind as a factor for the reflection and, consequently, the prerequisite and means for changing objective reality. The creation of an expanded scientific complex program for the development of the perception capabilities of man for the energizing and improvement of the basic "essential forces" inherent and operating in man is a prime task directly based on the general purpose. However, in order for this program not to be self-seeking and isolated from the school disciplines and training practices, its specific and expedient correlation with school subjects and scientific knowledge is necessary. In this respect the active adaptation and integration within the training process of art would be exceptionally useful. Its ways, means, and methods and their interconnection or synthesis would make possible the direct and creative absorption of scientific knowledge;

In order to successfully implement the general objective of education, the schools and higher educational institutions must create conditions so that, in the course of the training process, the students will acquire the ability for self-development. The art to control and guide one's own development and control the development of cognitive abilities and creatively guide and organize mental processes, converting the mind into a force of creativity and renovation of the world and of life, and the skill to open potential forces and steadily improve capabilities is the high objective facing the educational process. The question of individual work by teachers with students assumes exceptional importance. Work on the basis of individualized plans-programs must become, to an ever greater extent, one of the basic methods in secondary and higher school practice. This will offer possibilities, both in the course of regular classes and in independent student activities, to accelerate the development of individual-specific inclinations and talents, and not hold back the development of students who display a tendency and aspiration toward dynamic self-development;

The reorganization of the education process must be consistent with the latest scientific norms and requirements. One of the important aspects

of the latest scientific discoveries requires the deeper and more conscious consideration and distribution of material and the presentation of scientific knowledge not only on the basis of the formal aspect of age group development but of the specific characteristic laws which govern each stage of the comprehensive development and action of the overall physiological-psychological complex within which the human body and mind function. The integration of education with science and art, and the creation of large creative collectives of specialists working in various fields of science and rallied around the solution of single objectives and problems, the use of the collective mind and of the interdisciplinary and the synthetic method in the formulation of curriculums, and ways and means of training in the drafting and writing of textbooks and education aids will contribute to the fastest possible solution of these important problems. The education system must coordinate and integrate its efforts with ministries, departments, economic organizations, and scientific units in the country in order to contribute to the functions and practical actions of the unified system for the training and retraining of cadres and specialists in order to promptly meet the needs of the national economy for the mastering of new knowledge and experience, the introduction of new skills, and the training of the required specialists;

The final problem on which I would like to draw your attention is that of developing the necessary training, scientific, and social atmosphere for the organization, development, and control of the necessary new scientific experiments. This approach is necessary in order to offer the possibility to organize at a faster pace and practically test a number of new scientific ways and means of training and self-training. The practically tested most important ways, means, and systems of training and development will, unquestionably, have to be boldly applied in mass school training. Such a statesmanlike approach will enable us to apply most rapidly and promptly expedient methods and will guarantee the open nature of the educational system and its reorganization. The use and creative interpretation of global experience accumulated through centuries and developed today, and the various new experiments now underway in the socialist countries and in the most important training centers in other countries would be another important and necessary prerequisite for the faster and effective application of the basic principles and objectives of the reorganization and development of education. The all-round experience of the Soviet Union in the training and development of the socialist individual and the rich scientific communist ways and means of creative development of man used and applied today in the Soviet Union must be extensively studied and creatively applied under the conditions of the Bulgarian People's Republic;

No less important is the problem of the technical-visual equipping of schools and the creation of a material-technical education base consistent with the high objectives and requirements. The creation of comprehensive scientific laboratories and of conditions for the development of artistic creativity in the schools will contribute to the faster mastering of

scientific knowledge and to the comprehensive development of the talent and creativity of Bulgarian children and youth. The schools must become temples of culture which would not only meet and satisfy the requirements of the educational system of the mature socialist society on a functional basis but would become a standard reflecting the maturity, creativity, and mastery of Bulgarian and human genius.

Comrades!

There are two concepts most profoundly and directly related to life. Whereas the origin of life is impossible without the sacred mission of the mother, the development of life is impossible without the sacred mission of the teacher. Retaining such concepts live in the minds and hearts of man means retaining and preserving life.

Teaching is a vocation as well as a high responsibility. It is a vocation because the burdens and joys of being responsible for the development and destinies of thousands of children, young people, and adults may be achieved only with a pure, open, and zealous heart; love and self-denial alone can touch the hearts of the working people; a feeling of dignity alone enables a man to dedicate himself to the most worthy task of molding the mind, teaching, and opening the future. It is a responsibility because one invests one's mind, love, and knowledge in the foundations of development; one interferes in the fate and the growth and largely predetermines the assertion in life of thousands of people, for the purpose and the means for molding the future are not without importance.

Yet, could the bearer of knowledge, the person who has voluntarily dedicated himself to the responsible mission of shaping and helping the development and expansion of the potential forces, the person who indicates the road to beauty, who governs the progress for the future and who asserts the need to live according to the laws of beauty not be, himself, a real bearer of knowledge and practical experience and worthy human and civic virtues, or not have the strength and confidence to boldly go forth and conquer the world of the unknown?

The high objective facing education which is that the school must mold comprehensively developed people raises the question not only of the place and civic responsibility of the teacher to people and society, and not only the quality of his moral appearance and the nature of his knowledge and skills. The question is of the place and role of the true bearers of knowledge, the voluntary participants in the "Golden Chain" of continuity and of teaching, caring and exerting the hierarchy of knowledge, molding the people of tomorrow's communist society, a question of the high responsibility to the future, to mankind, and to the globe, which could be assumed only by the true teacher.

The vocation of the teacher and his place in social life must not be reduced to the level of official obligations and relations. The place of the teacher must not be formal but factually determined by the level and degree of his individual development and must be steadily asserted and protected in the course of the development of the personality. It must always be consistent with the needs of society and life. The aspiration of the teacher himself to broaden his outlook, enrich his experience, and insure the comprehensive absorption of and contact with phenomena and processes in natural, human, and social development, and his social activities are the real guarantee for his progress and a necessary and mandatory prerequisite for continuing to bear the high responsibility of the teacher.

The teacher must live with the awareness of the responsibility of his mission. The real teacher is he who does not imitate but boldly seeks new ways and he who, through his aspiration, knowledge, and dedication can lead and unravel the secrets of life, and assert the courageous, just, humane, and beautiful aspects of life. The vocation of the teacher is to assert in life the hierarchy of knowledge. He must comprehensively and lovingly promote the development of the mind. He must mold and assist the crystallizing of what is most important in the character and capabilities of the students. He must direct and guide their development toward the boundless possibilities of knowledge. He must assert the permanency of labor, the joy of creativity, and the daring of discovery. A teacher who is aware of the power of knowledge and of the opportunities offered by the new ways will invest his heart and skill to promote them. He will not underestimate the abilities and possibilities of the youth. He will find an application for each aspiration. He will start the fire of daring in every open heart. The teacher has a splendid mission and vocation.

Yet, should this high responsibility not be proportional to the recognition and respect of and love for those who voluntarily assume and carry to the end this difficult and noble mission? The proper understanding of the deep interdependence which exists among teacher, students, and society may guarantee not only the implementation of the mission of the teacher but the steady progress of human and social knowledge.

The objective of the reorganization of schools and education and of raising to a new stage the social role of the teacher cannot be practically accomplished without a qualitative change in the teacher-student interrelationship. The principle of cooperation must be the base of such an interrelationship. On the basis of the coordinated work the teacher-student relationship will be a relationship of warmth and comradeship, of joint aspiration, and of mutual respect and responsibility. This principle will enable us to raise the quality of presentation and assimilation of knowledge, for the level of the knowledge presented will be consistent with the degree and ability to understand and assimilate it. Coordinated

work, and consistency of efforts and actions in mastering school subjects, scientific knowledge, and practical experience will grow progressively in accordance with the quality of this cooperation.

The mission of the teacher and the school is high, beautiful, noble, worthy, responsible, and joyful. The words of Comrade Todor Zhivkov sound beautifully and confidently: "The school is a bridge to the future crossed by a nation generation after generation. Let each one of us and all together do everything we can to fulfill our patriotic duty to enable the Bulgarian school to lead our children and grandchildren, our people, our homeland, Bulgaria, ever farther and higher, ever closer to the communist ideal of man and society."

The first public education congress will adopt the charter of the Bulgarian teacher. This historical document reflects the mature attitude of the developed socialist society toward the highly noble and responsible mission of the teacher, the trust of the party, the state, and the people in the Bulgarian teacher, and the faith in and recognition of the Bulgarian people to the generations of teachers and people's educators who have honorably and worthily been entrusted with the high people's trust.

The charter of the Bulgarian people is an acknowledgment and an assertion of the high social role of the teacher in the development of society. It obligates both teachers and society to be on the level of this mission--to be the living link in the hierarchy of knowledge, in the chain of generations from the past through the present and to the future.

Comrades:

The age-old history of Bulgarian education which reflects the rich spiritual-historical traditions of the Bulgarian state and people, offers vivid examples of mature achievements in the development of the national-democratic principle in education. The educational traditions inherited by the Bulgarians from the Slavic founding teachers Konstantin-Kiril Filosof and Metodiiy and their students, the cultural and enlightenment centers in Pliska, Preslav, Ohrid, and Veliko Turnovo, the learning schools of Simeon, Teodosiy Turnovski and Patriarkh Evtimiy, the mass cultural-educational renaissance activities, and the progressive traditions of the Bulgarian teachers in the period of the struggle against fascism and capitalism represent the rich and varied experience acquired through the centuries, coming from the past, laid at the foundations of the contemporary socialist educational system.

We cannot separate the awakening and rebirth of the national self-awareness from the heroic creative work of the people themselves who focused and organized their cultural-educational life and activities in the public libraries and the schools of the renaissance. These original cultural-educational centers of light not only became the focal points of

the spiritual rebirth of the Bulgarian people but laid the beginning of the contemporary broad democratization of education processes developing at the stage of mature socialism. According to one of the public library's charters, "anyone has the right to be a member, all members are equal, and everyone has the right to vote and be elected." That is why we can daringly say that the public libraries were the prototype, the embryo of the state-social principle in the organization and management of socialist education and of the consolidated cultural-educational scientific centers which will be developed and asserted in the present and the future.

The broad changes and the reorganization occurring in all realms and areas of social life in the stage of the mature socialist society, and the achievement of the general objective facing culture and education of shaping comprehensively and harmoniously developed individuals and insuring the high effectiveness of social development, require and determine the need for the creation of a suitable organizational-administrative mechanism of education, and making the structure and management of the educational system consistent with the pace and requirements of social progress.

The basic principles of the reorganization of education were clearly emphasized and expanded in the BCP Central Committee theses on education, as follows:

Organizing the structure and management of education on a state-social basis and creating prerequisites for the integrating of this area with the other ministries, departments, and institutions directly related to the education process, and in accordance with the structure and organization of the territorial-settlement systems;

Converting to a uniform polytechnical school;

Accelerating the integration process between education and science and culture, thus creating the possibility for the optimal and purposeful utilization of cadres, specialists, funds, and material facilities.

Education can be converted into a decisive factor in molding the personality of the socialist worker only when the education process becomes an organic part of the activities of the individual collective and of the entire society. We cannot demand of the educational system to be fully linked with the needs of development unless we broaden its possibilities to the level of the possibilities at the disposal of the entire society and unless we convert education into a nationwide project.

The question cannot be reduced to the formal restructuring of the organization and management of education. The essence of the reorganization is to introduce a qualitatively new management principle which should integrate on a higher level the activities and experience of the state and society in the management and development of the educational system.

In recent years the Bulgarian People's Republic was able to accumulate considerable rich practical experience in the application, establishment, and improvement of the socio-state and state-social principles in the administration of public affairs. The successful functioning of the socio-state principle in the organization and management of culture over the past 15 years not only proved the expediency and viability of this new management method but factually enhanced the social functions of culture, democratized cultural processes through involving the broad popular masses and the creators of artistic values in the management of culture and enhanced the scientific level, quality, and effectiveness of cultural life. Practical experience proved that the establishment of the new management principle is not reduced to the formal or automatic action of the two principles in the management of cultural processes, but requires the development and use of qualitatively new management methods.

Unquestionably, our long experience in cultural management, based on the principle of socio-state management, will benefit the reconstruction and reorganization of the educational system. The establishment of the state-social principle as a basic principle of management in the development of education will broaden the social base and functions of the education process and insure the open spiraling nature of the development of this system. The state-social principle must not be understood one-sidedly. We are laying the foundations of a qualitatively new unity which would require the inclusion of the responsibilities and possibilities of all the links within the social system. We must surmount all hindrances, subjective and objective, and insure the effect of organizational-management, scientific, economic, and material factors which will provide a broad foundation for the reorganization and development of education.

On the national level the process of the establishment of state-social organs will be completed with the election of a higher education council by the congress. As the supreme organ, it will discuss and resolve or, according to the nature of the problem, submit for consideration and decision by the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers, the main, the strategic problems of the organization and content of scientific services, and cadre and material and technical support of education. It will insure the unity of action among all processes which determine the expanded and creative reproduction of the spiritual and intellectual potential of the nation.

The role and responsibility of the Ministry of Public Education shall be substantially enhanced under the conditions of the state-social principle. Together with the higher education council it will develop and function as a single specialized organ implementing party policy in education. The specific organs to be set up, such as the General Education Training Council and Vocational Training Council, and their specialized offices and units must provide a flexible, creative, and competent guidance, and unity of action and interaction with the corresponding state, economic, and social organs and organizations.

On the okrug level, the new education management organs--the okrug and obshtina public education councils--must organize the thorough formulation and implementation of plans, programs, and forecasts on the development of cadre training and education in the okrug and settlement systems. They must guide and control the overall organizational-pedagogical and training-methodical activities of preschool and secondary school institutions. The immediate task now is to formulate comprehensive programs for each okrug and settlement system.

The further reorganization of the educational system in accordance with the new objectives and functions will require its development as an organic component of the territorial-settlement structure of the country. On the local level this problem depends on the extent to which the school managements and other obshtina organs will create conditions for establishing ties between the unified school and the economic organizations, and the equipping of offices, laboratories, and workshops, and the use of most modern facilities of production and scientific-application organizations and the interlinking of settlement infrastructures with education work. The coordinating opportunities of the unified school must be intensified in terms of activities which support the education process--health care, trade, transportation, public catering, recreation, physical culture, tourism, and so on. A system of norms must be elaborated and become the mandatory base of the work of organs managing such activities.

One of the important practical problems facing education is the creation of real conditions for the integration and coordination of education activities with science and culture. We must establish methodical and organizational unity between the curriculums and programs of the unified school and the comprehensive programs of the Committee for Culture, on the one hand, and the program for esthetic education on the other. We must insure the more effective joint utilization of the facilities and cadres of reading rooms, libraries, houses of culture, theaters, museums, mass information media, and so on. The creative unions, the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and the scientific institutes must help in the training of cadres, in scientific developments, and in specific artistic-creative activities.

The educational system must pay particular attention to the development of amateur art activities as one of the functions and tasks of the school. The direct linking of school and student amateur activities with the purpose of the esthetic education and with the general objective of the education process aimed at the comprehensive development will contribute to its practical and creative application. Following the "Banner of Peace Assembly," the problem arises of linking the specific activities of the Ministry of Public Education with the objective, tasks, and activities of the assembly. The integration of education with the objectives and tasks of the assembly and its specific ways and means of work on a national and international level is a responsible assignment demanding particular attention.

Intensifying joint work with the family and the Komsomol organization is an exceptionally important task governing the effectiveness of educational work in the unified school.

We must decisively upgrade the role of the family in the labor upbringing and vocational orientation of the adolescents. Along with traditional forms, work with parents, their participation in the selection of the line of education, their familiarization with the possibilities and opportunities of the various professions, and the upgrading of their educational training must assume a new scope.

The Dimitrov Communist Youth Union must reorganize the style and content of its work with the students in accordance with contemporary requirements. The 1978 letter to the Komsomol Central Committee offers a broad foundation and program for this purpose. We expect of the Komsomol to become one of the basic factors in the reorganization of the educational system.

The reorganization of education calls for surmounting a major lagging in the overall scientific support of school work. Urgent measures must be taken to coordinate and insure the integration among education and science in order to raise the theoretical standard of school practice and the quality and effectiveness of scientific developments, and reduce the time needed for the application of scientific achievements and leading experience in training and education practices, and the study and creative application of most important global experience in the field of education. The scientific support of the educational system is an important task facing the institutes of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management, Medical Academy, and culture institutes, as well as the corresponding departmental and scientific research institutes which must assume specific research assignments and provide systematic aid in their practical utilization.

The reorganization of the scientific research units directly servicing the educational system, and the creation of a scientific-information center by the Ministry of Public Education, will be focused on the direct active and prompt improvement of organizational-management activities and on the highly effective implementation of targets.

We must create the type of management of the educational system which will insure the function of integration, systematic and organic coordination, general purposefulness and, above all, unity of action among the three basic realms of the spiritual complex of our socialist society: science, education, and artistic culture. This need is objectively and subjectively determined by our conditions. Objectively, the problems resolved by each of these areas cannot be successfully resolved without such a close integration and unity. Subjectively, historically all three areas developed in our country, in the final account, on the basis of education.

Naturally, each of these social areas is, and will remain, independent. This is an axiom. However, without coordination and unity of action raised on a qualitatively higher level we cannot achieve progress or resolve contemporary problems.

As to the party's Central Committee this idea was implemented through the creation of a Commission on Science, Culture, and Education, under the Politburo. We are convinced that this need and this idea will become the foundations of the new organizational forms of managing the educational system.

Whereas the general purpose of education is to shape and develop a many-faceted and, in the future, comprehensive-universal individual, the basic purpose in the organization and management of the educational system is the following:

By asserting the state-social principle, to create the necessary social and administrative prerequisites to raise this objective to the level of a state project and to implement it. The reorganization of the management of education is not self-seeking. The new ways and means for the management of education must be steadily developed and improved in accordance with the needs and changes of man and society.

Dear comrades:

The years 1979 and 1980 will remain memorable in the history of Bulgarian public education because of the nationwide discussion of the theses on the development of education in Bulgaria and the holding of the first Bulgarian education congress.

These are peaks toward which a nation is climbing in its development, when the objective of human and social development is clear, when confidence in its forces is monolithic, and when faith in the future is communist.

The noble objective facing public education is beautiful and its strive is daring. The doors to the future are open. We can enter this communist future only when labor becomes happiness, cooperation becomes necessity, knowledge becomes all-embracing, responsibility becomes high, and will-power becomes invincible.

It is a holiday when the hearts of the Bulgarian people are singing, "March, reborn people, march to a bright future." It is a holiday when the flags of the teachers are raised, when the people know that "Nationality does not disappear where knowledge is alive," and when daring, discovery, creativity, beauty, labor, and joy are the limits to be reached.

To work, dear comrades, in order to carry out the high and responsible mission entrusted to us by the party, the people, and history.

I thank you for your attention.

5003

CS01 2200

ARMY PAPER EDITORIAL URGES ECONOMY, PROPER USE OF EQUIPMENT

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 23 May 80 p 1

[Editorial: "For a Strict Regime of Economy"]

[Text] The economical and thrifty use of appropriated material, financial, and foreign exchange resources is a major prerequisite for achieving considerable successes in all realms of our life. That is why the efforts to seek economy reserves, make full use of the possibilities of the equipment, and the sensible investment of each leva in the further development of the national economy, deserve support and encouragement.

Together with the working people, the personnel of the people's army are actively responding to the party call for economy and thrift by every member of our society. Loyal sons of their people and their party, commanders and troops spare no efforts and work to master to perfection their weapons and equipment. They try to conserve each gram of fuel and kilowatt hour of electric power.

As in all national economic sectors, possibilities exist in the armed forces for the saving of material and financial funds. For this reason, the task now is to find them on time, to consider them, and to seek the most favorable means for their utilization in the interest of the combat readiness of the units.

What are these reserves?

Let us put first the able command-organizing work of the commander and his staff officers. Well trained and knowledgeable, while engaging in planning and computations they could assess how more sensibly to use their allocated material and financial funds so that activities in the unit may be fully consistent with the requirements of the regulations. This is a prerequisite which leads to a model organization of the training process and gains time. Yet, "Any type of saving," Marx says, "is, in the final account, a saving of time!" These are saved minutes and hours which, rationally used, will enable us to steadily enhance the combat readiness of the armed forces.

Considerable savings result from the proper maintenance and utilization of the equipment. Particularly accurate, in this respect, is the thought expressed by Army General Dobri Duzhurov, minister of national defense: "The instruction and upbringing of subordinates--troops and commanders--must be focused on mastering to perfection their assigned weapons and equipment, and their continuing maintenance in a state of technical efficiency and combat readiness. Indeed, trained soldiers will make far better use of weapons and equipment, will be aware of their possibilities, and will handle them skillfully.

For example, in the unit where Officer Petranchev is serving, the efforts of commanders and troops are focused on the effective utilization of the results of the initiative of striking the target with the first shot. This represents considerable savings of ammunition, the training of new members of gun crews as marksmen, and the promotion in the troops of a feeling of thrifty yet effective use of each round.

It is no secret that considerable savings of fuel and lubricants could be achieved as the result of proper servicing and tuning of the equipment. These are familiar truths. However, success may be achieved only if they are fully applied. In the unit of Officer Angelov, for example, thanks to the proper attitude of the drivers in fueling the trucks, their skillful maintenance, and careful driving, considerable amounts of fuel have been saved. Naturally, the technical officers in the unit have contributed to this result.

The skillful use of training-material facilities makes it possible to provide fruitful training. This also offers possibilities for thrift. The troops learn to properly operate simulators and other aids. In practical terms, this lowers breakdowns from the utilization of assigned weapons and combat equipment, saving thousands of leva.

It is unquestionable that discovered possibilities for thrift beneficially influence the enhancement of the combat readiness of the troops. However, there have been cases in which, as a result of negligence, poor organization, and reduced control, thousands of leva, tons of fuel, and wasted hours are lost. Some units do not always save the lubricants used which could be reprocessed and reused. Occasionally insufficient efforts are made to make full use of technical training facilities. There have also been cases in which, completing some construction projects in the areas of the units, leftovers of iron, cables, concrete props, and timber are not collected. Gradually they are damaged by atmospheric conditions. It is also necessary to reduce in some places unjustified telephone conversations. Leaking taps or unnecessary electric lighting should not be ignored. All these are unused thrift possibilities. By paying greater attention to them thousands of leva could be saved.

The party's appeal for economy is mandatory for everyone. That is why it is the duty of commanders, staffs, political workers, and party and Komsomol organizations to engage in even better organized explanatory work so that this appeal may reach the heart and the mind of every soldier. This is because the task of establishing a strict regimen of economy and thrift can be resolved through the efforts of every member of the military collective.

It can be resolved through all available means!

5003

CSO: 2200

TRAINING ASPECTS OF AIR FORCE PILOTS EXAMINED

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28, 29 May 80

[Article by Col Nikola Petrov, military pilot first class, and Engineer Maj Veselin Stoyanov, military pilot first class: "A Day Before the Great Test"]

[28 May 80, pp 1, 2]

[Text] Check-up by the newspaper NARODNA ARMIYA [People's Army]. In the interests of truth we must put on record that the idea of this check-up did not originate in the editorial office, but in a headquarters. They shared with us quite briefly the tactical conception of the impending training exercise.

To get more information we had to go to a certain airfield and select a "viewpoint" from which to observe and get the fullest possible picture of the fliers' ability to conduct active combat operations under the complex conditions of the air situation. Moreover, one of the authors of these lines had a very specific mission from higher headquarters.

Unquestionably, the quality of a teaching exercise depends to a great extent on advance training. Modern combat requires every serviceman to be the master of his profession, have perfect command of weapons and combat materiel and possess high moral and political qualities and mental stability in the face of surprises of whatever kind. The commanders, political workers and staff officers of the unit in which Officer Sinapov serves have a marked aspiration to adhere to these requirements.

To be sure, the upgrading of combat skills does not proceed only in a straight line here. Most of the fliers were training for the great test when the signal came from the command post for one of the groups on duty to take off at once. The element leader, Senior Lieutenant Metodiev, gained the necessary altitude and after he received the necessary information began to close in on the target. But due to his lack of experience he

made a comparatively smooth turn and found himself at a disadvantageous target aspect angle vis-a-vis the "enemy." The tactical concept suggested by the command post did not pay off.

Let us dwell a little longer on this particular case in order to emphasize that to guide an interceptor to the target the air situation must be correctly evaluated, and after detecting the "enemy" in good time, the most effective maneuver must be used and interception effected on the specified line. Success in combat depends above all on the tactical concept and its accurate execution by the pilot in close cooperation with the command post. Practical experience shows that pilots and the direction center crew must choose, comprehend and jointly master the necessary tactical modes of operation.

Owing to the lack of solid practical skills some young navigator-controllers do not always quite accurately calculate the necessary radius of turn and create additional difficulties for the younger pilots not only in the technique of piloting, but also in target-seeking. As a result, not all interceptions are effected on the prescribed lines. Every failure must be carefully analyzed and the performance of assigned missions approached with even greater responsibility.

What happened today bears out that some young pilots still believe, albeit tacitly, that initiative in modern combat is something abstract since there are command posts that can put them on the enemy's "very tail." Unquestionably, in our time there is good radar backup and automated guidance systems, and the majority of navigators using modern equipment and employing varied tactical modes of operation with great precision bring interceptors to the target under the most diverse conditions of the air situation. But it is also true that even the most experienced navigator can make a mistake. And at present-day speeds every second is decisive. Moreover, in a real combat situation the command post or direction center can be put out of action while the mission of destroying the air enemy by the interceptor in the air will remain. That is why the pilot's initiative, based on an excellent knowledge of tactics and the capabilities of his aircraft and weapons for attacking the enemy and on his excellent piloting technique, are vitally important.

We believe that this deviation very necessarily and inseparably involves our primary purpose, for as the folk saying has it, "Even a pebble can overturn the cart."

We have already mentioned that most of the pilots were in training for the impending drill exercise. Frankly speaking, during the winter months air commanders give much attention to the training of rated pilots and flights under complex meteorological conditions, day and night. Without justifying the extreme trends on this question, we believe that for aviation every season of the year is characterized by the performance of "friendly" missions from the flying schedule.

In the morning when the commander of the air unit assigned the missions, he called attention to precisely this transition from comparatively calm training flights for the improvement mainly of flying training to an ever increasing proportion of flights for the combat utilization of aircraft during regular scramble watches, training exercises and tactical flying exercises.

The pilots studied thoroughly the special features of interception at varying altitudes.

Thus, for example, Pilot First-Class Officer Yovshay called attention to low-altitude flights. The first special feature of these is the fact that they are executed close to the ground and preponderant importance attaches, in the pilot's activity of controlling the aircraft, to the working operations aimed at maintaining a safe altitude above obstacles. In a flight of this kind the best rule for the distribution of one's attention is to spend two-thirds of one's time looking out for objects outside the cockpit. The pilot must continuously conduct detailed orientation. He must remember that altimeter data at such altitudes are not always accurate enough, that radio altimeters give stable readings of true altitude only over flat country, while over forest tracts and rugged terrain the data are not firm. For this reason it is advisable that the pilot determine his altitude by eye. The second special feature is high nervous and emotional tension. The other special features are of a technical character.

It is hardly necessary for us to list all the activities that subdivision commanders and pilots performed in the independent study of missions while training in the cockpits of aircraft and during the checkup at the end of the day.

"I have no significant criticisms of the preliminary training," said Pilot First-Class Officer Kiryakov. "Everybody worked conscientiously with maximum exertion of effort, high spirit, and a desire to make an excellent showing in the upcoming training exercise. The young pilots studied with special attention the consecutive execution of every element of interception, made advance calculations, sketched diagrams and profiles of the flight stage by stage, memorized safety measures and what to do in emergencies. I believe that whatever surprises tomorrow may bring, the missions will be accomplished successfully."

During the day we also read firm confidence in the eyes of experienced pilots and a tremendous desire in young officers to become able and seasoned airmen in a short time. We were convinced that the commanders have the right approach to instruction, do not play the fussy tutor, but instill decisiveness and initiative in their subordinates. Notwithstanding, we impatiently looked forward to the morning.

[29 May 60, pp 1, 3]

[Text] The morning came, sunny and still. There was nobody in headquarters building except the duty officer although the working day for many people on the military airfield had started at early dawn. The roar of a turbine shattered the peaceful calm—a plane took off to reconnoiter the meteorological situation. In front of the multistory building we found the commander, his deputies and the pilots who would take part in the real training exercise. And since two important and interesting "angles" had emerged today (the command post and the area where the subdivision commanded by Pilot First-Class Officer Khristo Yovchev would operate), we decided to split up, with each of us making his own notes and sharing our impressions at the end.

Skirmishes in the Sky . . .

Pilot First-Class Officer Georgiev was just telling some funny incident when an order came from the command post that one of the elements should go onto the highest degree of combat readiness. Engineer Capt Khristo Manev and his wingman dashed to their turbine engines. Soon the turbines began to whistle and the element moved out for the takeoff. As if connected by a thread, the planes gained speed, cut loose from the concrete runway and "plunged" into the blue ocean of the sky. Quiet that lasted only a few minutes set in on the airfield. From another area near the start of the runway a second element came up and all eyes were turned again towards the swift takeoff. The time interval between takeoffs of the different groups becomes less and less and it is not difficult to draw the conclusion that the "enemy" is intruding from different directions in the entire altitude range and will strive, at any price, to inflict powerful blows on protected targets. Dozens of kilometers away from here the first skirmishes have most likely begun, the results of which we shall soon learn. . .

The first groups are landing one after another. The pilots with happy, flushed faces are on their way to the pavilion. The swarthy captain with expressive features and shining eyes tells his comrades who have not yet taken off, "I got him! He had climbed up to 16,000 meters. The entire secret is in takeoff acceleration and precise calculation. Right after turning I 'broke' the sound barrier and this gave me a number of advantages. . . . My wingman Engineer Lt Georgi Georgiev got his target, too. This is his first baptism of fire!"

"I'm very grateful to the controller, Senior Lt Spas Pavlov, who skillfully put me into the most favorable position for attack," the junior pilot added, slightly embarrassed by the praise, but most likely seething with joy in his heart.

Lieutenant Georgiev had the right to be happy and proud. Let us hasten ahead a little to emphasize that after the fire-monitor tape was developed and decoded, his actions proved to be swift, precise and in complete compliance with safety measures.

Most Diverse Banter

In the sun close to the pavilion the group of those who have already been in combat becomes larger and larger. The pilots exchange the most diverse banter among themselves.

"You're right, it's preferable to have greater speed and let up on the stick, if necessary, than see the enemy getting clean away right under your nose. . ."

"They put me in a turn. I made the launch from a bank of about 40 degrees . . ."

"I detected the 'enemy' at a distance from his condensations, but when I began to gain altitude, the trails had disappeared. . ."

"Even if he had been another 2000 meters higher, I would have intercepted him just the same. . ."

"A lot of targets, true. . . But at a low altitude it's pea soup. At the last moment we spotted a foursome of 'enemy' aircraft and moved in to attack them. . ."

"Ivan and I didn't separate. He was operating against a higher flying target. . ."

"How much fuel did you land with?"

"I could have made one more interception. . ."

The subdivision commander addressed himself to his wingmen and admonished them in a calm voice, "Now if we take off again in a group, the operating procedure stays the same. . ."

Above the airfield an element of airplanes is firing. Officer Yovchev raises his eyes and exclaims, "Lads! See how precisely they have 'frozen' the distance and interval between themselves!"

Group Teamwork

This exclamation provided the occasion for us to talk some more with him about group teamwork.

"We give a great deal of attention to this question," the commander said, "because the fighter pilot is not an individual airman, but a member of a combat team (element, flight). Consequently, the ability to fly in different combat formations is of decisive importance in his training and is one of the criteria of combat proficiency."

Instruction in group flying consists in the mastery of coordinated operations and mutual understanding between pilots in the air so that the lead pilot's intentions are successfully carried out.

"What in your opinion are the most important factors on which maneuverability in formation and a group's combat capabilities depend?"

"They are many," Officer Yovchev replied, "but one of the most important is the range of speeds used. Modern aircraft have a greater range of speeds than the piston-engined aircraft. This gives the pilot greater capabilities for keeping his place in formation and for maneuvering, especially in open combat formations and in the vertical plane. To be sure, this makes high demands on his tactical training and on his piloting technique. This explains our striving constantly to improve the organization of the training process and upgrade our methods training."

"To master group teamwork, we attach great importance to training in the cockpit of airplanes spaced on the ground at the distances and intervals anticipated in flight, as well as to flight game-playing by the so-called 'pilot-on-foot' method. During this game-playing, depending on the mission assigned, we prescribe different tactical moves, as well as moves for mastery of what to do in the event of failures of aviation equipment and other flight emergencies."

"I should like to conclude with the thought that pilot training for group flight determines the quality of performance of a combat mission: energy, horizontal and vertical maneuver, shortening of the time required for taking one's initial attack position, swiftness of the attack, and prevention of a surprise enemy attack."

And we conclude this part of our checkup even though the second stage of the real training exercise was more interesting still than the first. The strenuous pace that began early in the morning kept up its high "voltage" in the afternoon too. It is simply impossible for us to cover all the important and necessary activities, but this is not our purpose.

The criticism that we want to make has to do with the participation of too few young pilots in this test. Truth to tell, the situation was fluid and the commander let pass a few moments when, in terms of their characteristics, the intruding "enemy" aircraft were

within the capabilities of even young pilots. The experience of the previous day was also a reason for a certain playing it safe and involving mainly experienced pilots in combat.

Unquestionably, the teaching exercise as a whole was a genuine test of combat proficiency. While it was being held, pilots, aircraft controllers, engineers, political workers, aircraft mechanics and other specialists successfully performed their assigned missions and demonstrated their readiness and resoluteness to defend the air boundaries of our socialist homeland in the present-day complex international situation.

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CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

REPORT ON FIRST CONGRESS ON EDUCATION

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 May 80 pp 1, 4

[BTA report: "Remarkable Event in Our Spiritual Life"]

[Text] Yesterday the first public education congress opened at the Universiada Hall in Sofia. One thousand five hundred delegates--representatives of the many-thousands strong army of Bulgarian teachers--came here with the feeling of being active creators of our socialist education and worthy participants in the cultural upsurge of our homeland. Rallied on the eve of the greatest Bulgarian holidays--Bulgarian Education and Culture Day--they will proudly report the great successes of our educational system, the heir of the firm traditions of the Bulgarian schools. Following the victory of the socialist revolution in our country, Bulgarian education, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism regarding communist education, established its true socialist aspects. In the course of 36 years it became a powerful incentive for the social, cultural, and scientific and technical progress of the homeland.

The congress will review past experience and earmark the prospects for the development of the Bulgarian educational system which will continue to advance and to enrich itself. The delegates will discuss and adopt the Bulgarian Teacher's Charter and will elect a High Education Council.

The first public education congress is a remarkable event in the spiritual life of our country, for it will define the tasks not only of those working in public education but of our entire society in the implementation of the theses for the development of education in Bulgaria.

The participation of Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman as a delegate to the congress is a manifestation of respect for and recognition of the noble and highly responsible work of the educators. He was welcomed with tempestuous lengthy applause and shouts praising the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The following assumed their places in the presidium: Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Ivan Mikhaylov, Lyudmila Zhivkova,

Ogyan Doynov, Peko Takov, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Tsola Dragoycheva, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Drazha Vulcheva, Krustyu Trichkov, Todor Stoychev, Stoyan Karadzhov, Dimitur Stanishev, Georgi Atanasov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Milko Balev, Nisho Mishev, Vladimir Bonev, Nacho Papazov, State Council Deputy Chairmen Georgi Dahagarov and Mitko Grigorov, and Deputy Chairmen of the Council of Ministers Grigor Stoichkov, and Kiril Zarev.

Also present were members of the State Council and the government, secretaries and members of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union Standing Committee, deputy chairmen of the National Assembly, head of departments of the BCP Central Committee, and heads of sociopolitical and mass organizations.

The congress was opened by Academician Sava Ganovski who greeted the delegates and guests and wished them fruitful work. He stressed that the adoption of the Bulgarian Teacher's Charter will establish even further his profession as an important factor in the overall progress of the homeland.

Panka Babukova, first deputy minister of public education, announced the congress agenda, as follows:

1. Report on the implementation of the decisions of the July 1979 BCP Central Committee Plenum on the development of education in the Bulgarian People's Republic, entitled "The High Mission of Education is a Responsibility to the Future;"
2. Report on the immediate practical tasks facing the education organs in the development of education;
3. Election of the High Education Council.

The leading organs of the congress were elected.

Lyudmila Zhivkov, chairman of the Commission for Science, Culture, and Education of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, and member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, submitted the report on the implementation of the decisions of the July BCP Central Committee Plenum on the development of education in the Bulgarian People's Republic, entitled "The High Mission of Education is a responsibility to the future."

(Report published separately).

The second session was chaired by Professor Mikhail Savov, deputy minister of public education.

Professor Aleksandur Pol, minister of public education, submitted a report on the immediate practical tasks facing the education organs on the development of education. (Report published separately).

This was followed by debates on the two reports and on the draft nationwide program for the implementation of the decisions of the 1979 BCP Central Committee Plenum on the development of education in Bulgaria, the draft Bulgarian Teacher's Charter, and the draft basic stipulations on the activities and structure of the High Education Council, which had been issued ahead of the congress.

The first speaker was Honored Teacher Mariya Mikhaylova from High School No 35 in Sofia, offering instruction in the Russian language. Our collective welcomed the directions of the BCP Central Committee on the development of education ready to engage in their practical implementation, said she. We are trying to achieve high quality lessons in all subjects and create possibilities for every student to participate informally and with greater interest in mastering the wealth of knowledge and culture, and fully manifest his individual possibilities. We are convinced that the congress documents will become the base for the further advancement of the system for the training, vocational development, and skills of the teachers as well, in accordance with contemporary scientific and technical progress and the country's socioeconomic development.

Our guiding principle, shared Mitka Tsvetkova, tutor at the Asen Khalakhev Textile Combine in Pleven, is the task set by Comrade Todor Zhivkov of making full use of the possibilities of the tutoring movement. We report with satisfaction that in slightly over three years we have trained 300 students and that, following our example, 1,000 tutors are working in the okrug, sharing their experience, knowledge, and labor virtues with over 3,800 young future workers. Allow me to assure the BCP Central Committee, and, personally, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, that the working class in our okrug and its leading detachment--the tutors--will honorably fulfill their obligations in the training and upbringing of the young communist individuals.

During the recess delegates and guests laid a wreath at the mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov, the leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people, the monument of V. I. Lenin, leader of the world proletariat, and the monument to the creators of the Bulgarian alphabet, Kiril and Metodi.

The afternoon session was chaired by Professor Dimitur Filipov, deputy chairman of the Committee for Culture.

Professor Doctor Ilcho Dimitrov, rector of the Kliment Okhridski University in Sofia, spoke of the role of our first higher educational institution in training broad specialists as future scientific workers, men of culture, and management cadres. The noble mission of the university is to train teachers who would meet the requirements of the developed socialist society, the speaker pointed out.

The university training of the contemporary teacher includes mastering the foundations of the chosen scientific field and specialization in one of its areas, and considerable knowledge of another science as a university minor, along with educational and methodical training.

Professor Ilcho Dimitrov pointed out that a great deal remains to be desired in the field of university training if we are to reach the level stipulated in the party's decisions.

The program for the development of education and spiritual life in the period of building a developed socialist society in our country has put together history and theory, the inspiration of the leading progressive ideas of our age, criticism of the obsolete, and a thrust toward the future, noted in his speech Milcho Germanov, first deputy chairman of the Committee for Culture. This program inspires respect. It organizes the thrusts of the teacher and the parent, the searches of the scientist and the artist, the concern of the plant worker and director, and the innovation and perspicacity of the political leader.

The speaker then discussed the interaction among education, science, and esthetic culture, emphasizing that the common efforts must be focused on the comprehensive, all-round, and harmonious development of man, and the creative shaping and realization of the potential of the socialist individual. Under the contemporary conditions of the socialist society the all-round spiritual wealth and creativity of the people's masses have become immediate development targets. The comprehensive development and creative manifestation of every person in all realms of social life are becoming criteria of the maturity of socialism.

Petur Petrov, first secretary of the Ruse Okrug BCP Committee, spoke on the traditions of Ruse Okrug in the field of education. He pointed out the rapid assertion of the new socio-state organs heading educational activities, proving the timeliness of their establishment through a number of useful initiatives recently adopted in school practice. With the help of the school boards in the okrug a number of improvements have been made in material-technical facilities. Centers for educational work at home are set up. The extensive participation of the public in the general educational process is being insured. A substantial contribution has also been made by the Public Scientific Research Education Institute, which has been operating for the past two years.

On behalf of the Union of Bulgarian Writers, union chairman Lyubomir Levchev presented most warm greetings and wishes for fruitful work by the congress. He stated that the Bulgarian writers consider this exceptionally important sociopolitical event as their own and that the problems of Bulgarian education become their own immediate tasks. The writers express their full support of the draft documents submitted to the congress as a decisive step toward implementing the decisions contained in the BCP Central Committee theses.

Lyubomir Levchev also discussed the place of fiction in training and upbringing in the course of the development of the schools in the future. Together with the other arts literature is providing artistic truths on the beauty of human feelings, thoughts, and interrelationships, and their strength and harmony.

He approved the trend toward including more energetically and systematically the arts in the education process, graphic arts and music in particular, which have most fruitful traditions.

The announcement was made that the congress has received a number of telegrams from schools, Komsomol societies and organizations, and teachers' and workers' collectives throughout the country. Greetings were sent by workers in education and private citizens. They expressed most sincere wishes for creative and useful work by this education forum.

Corresponding Member Professor Atanas Maleev, first deputy minister of public health, discussed some topical problems of higher medical education. He pointed out that the basic task of the higher medical institutes is to insure the further advancement of education and to decisively upgrade the quality of the training and education process. The students must be trained as fully competent and highly skilled specialists possessing solid theoretical knowledge.

Professor Atanas Maleev discussed in greater detail the activities of the Medical Academy in Sofia in implementing the decisions of the July BCP Central Committee Plenum on the development of education. He stressed that the academy's leadership profoundly discussed the further development and reorganization of the training process in the higher medical schools. The stages of this reorganization and the practical measures for its implementation were earmarked. New curriculums were drafted in the fields of medicine and dentistry, which are being tested this school year.

Following the intermission the meeting was chaired by honored teacher Dobrinka Zheleva, director of Institute for the Advancement of Teachers in Varna.

Stanka Shopova, Komsomol Central Committee Secretary, stressed that concern for public education, which expresses the basic idea of the April party line in the two-volume works by Comrade Todor Zhivkov and his letter to the Komsomol Central Committee, has been welcomed with particular attention and interest by the young generation. The congress documents defined the role and tasks of the Komsomol in the reorganization and development of education in the stage of building a developed socialist society. She also discussed the role of clubs, circles, and other voluntary forms of the brigade movement, the specialized student production brigades, and the Movement for Youth Technical and Scientific Creativity.

Dobrinka Zheleva announced that telegrams of greetings had been received from the USSR Ministry of Education and State Committee for Vocational-Technical Training, wishing the congress successful work. On behalf of those present she expressed the belief that education work will continue to make a worthy contribution to the further all-round rapprochement between our fraternal peoples and between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

The first public education congress, pointed out Rashko Rashkov, secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee, must provide the conditions and prerequisites for extensive and effective integration between the education and national economy organs and between the scientific and cultural fronts, and within our entire public, in order to insure the comprehensive impact of socio-educational factors on the comprehensive development of the young individuals and their full realization. He shared the experience of the Sofia party organization on the implementation of the theses on education and stressed the great role of the newly elected school boards in improving the socialist organization of the training process.

In his speech Professor Dimitur Dimitrov, member of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union Standing Committee and editor in chief of ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME, stressed the contribution of Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary, and State Council chairman, in defining the strategy of the development of the educational system. Historically considered, the speaker said, our education developed among the people. It was not accessible only to a privileged class and, unlike many other countries, the words people and education have always been indivisible. Today, under the conditions of a developed socialist society, the most favorable possibilities exist for the further development of the democratic traditions of the Bulgarian school.

This concluded the first day of the congress.

The meetings are continuing today.

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CSO: 2200

REPORT READ BY EDUCATION MINISTER FOL

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 May 80 p 5

[BTA report on speech by P. A. Aleksandur Fol, minister of public education: "On the Immediate Practical Tasks of Education Organs in Developing Education in Bulgaria"]

[Text] In his report, Aleksandur Fol, minister of public education, pointed out that in the historical chronicles of the homeland scholarship, learning, desire for education, and the development of culture have been the lasting characteristics in the development of the Bulgarian people. That is why they have a strong inner need to analyze and interpret the experience of the past. Whenever a nation focuses its attention on the past, surveying and assessing it, it means reaching a new level of wisdom.

The experience of the people who created the oldest among the currently existing governmental organizations in Europe and its socialist wisdom enable us to see the role and significance of the dialectical inter-relationship between the individual and society and society and the individual. The building of a mature socialist society is a concern of all and any of us.

This law was discovered and substantiated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, our first party and state leader. On the eve of the anniversary of the April Plenum it is becoming ever more clear that the Bulgarian Communist Party, headed by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Zhivkov, is a great gain for the Bulgarian people. We are witnessing major Marxist-Leninist theoretical works on the development of all realms of social life. We have been called upon to provide an innovative Marxist-Leninist development of education in accordance with the requirements of the mature socialist society and its gradual conversion to communism.

The recently published works by Comrade Todor Zhivkov on problems of education are an impressive contribution to the treasury of the science of the communist education of the young generation and the theory and practice of real socialism. Comrade Todor Zhivkov systematically substantiated the increased function of education in the socialist building of Bulgaria through the training of highly skilled cadres of a new type,

able to increase the material and spiritual values of our society, on the basis of a profound knowledge of social processes and of the trends of the scientific and technical revolution. Comrade Zhivkov's works, challengingly entitled "Obrazovatelното Delo--Delo Vsenarodno" [Education is the Cause of the Whole People] show the development of the most progressive ideas concerning the future of the educational system to which, from its very creation, the Bulgarian Communist Party has continued to pay great attention. The works indicate the consistency and continuity of the party's attitude toward the young generations, reaching the exceptionally theoretically and practically important July 1979 BCP Central Committee Plenum on the development of education in Bulgaria. Comrade Zhivkov's program letter to the Komsomol Central Committee, his opening and concluding speeches, and the Central Committee theses are documents elaborating our long-term strategy for the development of education, and the continuation and expansion of the cultural revolution in the subsequent stages of social progress.

This two-volume work will become a manual. We find in it and will continue to find answers to all basic questions which arise in the course of the development of a new type of educational system. Allow me, comrades, to express our gratitude to the BCP Central Committee and, personally, to Comrade Todor Zhivkov for the perspicacity and Marxist-Leninist far-sightedness with which the strategic line of the reorganization of education was delineated. Let us assure you, Comrade Zhivkov, that the entire pedagogical front will benefit from the invaluable wealth you created in order to build, through inspiration and communist purposefulness, the educational system of the mature socialist society.

The BCP Central Committee Plenum on the development of education in Bulgaria was an elaboration of Marx's concept of the "all-round development of the individual" under contemporary conditions. The Central Committee formulated as a social task the shaping of a many-faceted and, in the future, a comprehensively developed individual. This is a historical privilege and a historical responsibility facing the workers in the educational system.

The report by Comrade Lyudmila Zhivkova, BCP Central Committee Politburo member, to the first public education congress, provides a comprehensive study of the main tasks stemming from the July 1979 BCP Central Committee Plenum. The report particularly emphasizes that knowledge is not self-seeking. It is not a collection of facts. It is a system for the development and self-development of man. A person who can think, feel, and live fully is a many-faceted individual.

This concept predetermined the approach to the elaboration of a national program for the implementation of the decisions of the July 1979 BCP Central Committee Plenum on the development of education. The purpose of the program is to provide comprehensive conditions for the implementation

of the plenum's decisions, steadily providing the elements, components, and richer content of the general purpose of education.

The program has been drafted in accordance with the requirements of the objective need for the intellectualization of all activities, the strategy of the scientific and technical policy of the BCP Central Committee, and the application of the economic approach to the nonproduction area, in education in particular.

Minister Aleksandur Fol dealt with some basic problems of the national program combining the most immediate tasks of education organs.

One of them is introducing a new content to the training and education process and creating prerequisites for the conversion to the new education structure.

In the short time following the BCP Central Committee plenum on the development of education an attempt was made to improve the training content in general educational schools through improved curriculums and programs which will be used until the final development of the new unified secondary polytechnical school. The basic concepts on the content and organization of training-educational work at secondary vocational-technical schools and technical schools in the 1981-1982 year, with the main idea of coming as close as possible to the requirements of the unified secondary polytechnical school in the transitional period.

Work was initiated on changes in the nomenclature of professions and specialists in order to develop broad skills and related fields of specialization.

As we know, scientific research and experimental work was undertaken to formulate the content of the training-education process in the first grade of the future unified secondary polytechnical school with six-year-old children. The experiment is being conducted by two scientific collectives whose results will be submitted to experts for evaluation. The best variant will be applied on a mass scale starting with the 1981-1982 school year.

The teaching collectives of the VUZ are amending their curriculums with a view to strengthening basic training, eliminating narrow specializing in some areas, and improving practical training mainly under industrial conditions. Currently basic stipulations are being formulated on improving the organization of training-education work, increasing the participation of students in scientific research, and using more effective methods for their independent training.

From the viewpoint of the party's stipulation of training continuity, the training-education process covers postgraduate training and retraining as

a strategic task in cadre training. This approach was formulated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov as a mandatory requirement for the present and the future. In his introductory speech at the BCP Central Committee plenum he emphasized that, "The national economy and the other social areas neither wait nor could wait. They have an urgent need for cadres as of now, of highly skilled performing and managing cadres. It would be an unpardonable error, should we become carried away by the reorganization of education, to allow any slack, any delay in the solution of this vitally important problem."

The decision of the BCP Central Committee Politburo to create a unified national system for the training and retraining of executive and management cadres closes the circle of responsibilities and obligations and provides a unified period of training cycle as the basic position in the development of the training-educational process.

The spiraling ascending line of the professional development of the socialist working person is manifested under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution. The high level intellectualization of output and the brigade organization of labor demand the creation of a new type of worker, comprehensively developed, mastering a number of related skills, familiar with the production process, and, at the same time, specializing in a specific topical area.

The national program includes the idea that the multi-functional linking of the individual with labor activities directly influences the organizations of the training-education process. It legitimately obeys the principles of the socialist organization of labor in the educational system and in its individual units. The basic unit is the school collective which develops the correlation between the training system, on the one hand, and production labor, leisure time, extracurricular occupations, social activities, self-organization, and the self-management of the students, on the other.

With such an approach the requirement of spiritually encouraging the students will become an objective necessity. It totally excludes the pursuit of high grades or coarse quantitative assessments. It calls for an active study of the individual and overall characteristics of the young person, achieved with an emotionally saturated contact between the students and his educator. We consider this party view also as a means for involving young men and women with socialist social relations, and the awareness of a continuity among the past, the present, and the future. Under these circumstances, the particularly urgent need to equip the student with the habit of permanent self-education and training assumes the nature of a natural inner characteristic.

The teachers and the scientific-training cadres are the main factor in the reorganization of the educational system.

The bearers of education and instruction are always related to the aspirations and hopes of the people for spiritual enhancement.

The reorganization of education depends, to the greatest extent, on the teachers, the scientific-teaching cadres, and the workers in pedagogy. The professional-pedagogical creativity of education cadres, which must be raised to the level of a prime civic duty, is the focal point which binds together the teaching of the historical heritage with the imperative of contemporary requirements.

Following the BCP Central Committee plenum, considerable work was done to interpret and plan these main directions, taking into consideration the experience of some socialist countries and, above, all, of the Soviet Union.

After 9 September 1944, and throughout all the periods of the development of education in our country, Soviet science was the base for research and application of pedagogical achievements. Now, in building the school of the developed socialist society, Soviet science, once again, provides the most essential theoretical and practical conclusions and results. Their utilization will continue to broaden the process of interaction between schools at all levels and the Soviet schools. The Soviet experience is being mastered both on the level of direct cooperation between ministries and scientific institutes, as well as on the level of sister cities and okrugs. Drafting the national program, the need became apparent of exchanging experience in the party work of the schools, and between teachers' unions and publications on the reorganization.

The combined efforts of the school, the family, the Komsomol, and the Bulgarian Teachers' Union, and the public organizations and our entire public, will guide the young men and women toward the teaching profession.

Major changes are stipulated in the teachers' training system. This system must be more closely linked with the real needs of the school at the present stage in its development. It must insure the best possible correlation among the ideological, scientific, and professional-practical training of the young reinforcements in the teaching profession. The introduction of a one-year educational practice will raise the level of professional skills and accelerate the adaptation of the young teachers to school working conditions.

The need for the active participation of the entire educational cadre potential in the creation of the new unified school demands profound and essential changes in the organization and content of postgraduate training and the retraining of pedagogical cadres.

Substantial changes must be made in the system for upgrading the skills of VUZ scientific-teaching cadres. Such changes must insure the scientific

and educational growth of the teachers in accordance with the application of the new curriculums and programs, so that the training process may become a training-research process aimed at enhancing the role of training in the communist upbringing of the students.

Our party's educational policy cannot be implemented without the active and direct participation of the science of education and of the entire cultural and scientific front. The ministry has already undertaken the comprehensive elaboration of the training process with the active participation of the most noted specialists from the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, higher educational institutions, and scientific-research and cultural institutes.

The teaching and scientific-teaching collectives can and must purposefully improve their daily work. In the course of such efforts the collectives will bear in mind the fact that the time of the teacher and instructor is a tremendous reserve for steady self-education and self-training. This time should not be taken away as the result of a formalistic attitude toward social activities. There is no more meaningful social activity for the teacher and instructor than that conducted in the school and the classroom!

Improving material and technical facilities is a necessary prerequisite for the development of the schools, the speaker further emphasized.

The tasks stemming from the decisions of the BCP Central Committee plenum, included in the national program, require timely support. The general purpose of education and the practical fulfillment of the youth demand quality changes in the material and technical conditions under which the students are trained and educated.

In accordance with these requirements the Ministry of Public Education drafted a plan for the reequipment of schools for first grade six-year-old students. On the basis of the new curriculum and programs for the unified secondary polytechnical schools the basic parameters and norms shall be elaborated for training institutions and school buildings for the Eighth Five-Year Plan.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov's appeal to launch a nationwide movement in honor of the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state provided an exceptionally favorable atmosphere for accelerating the construction and improving the material and technical base of education and its modernization and reconstruction.

The program covering the period through 1985 calls for the building of nearly 2,000 classrooms, 28,000 seats in kindergartens, 2,200 beds in student hostels, 2,900 beds for rest and tourism, and 250 physical culture halls.

Now, when a movement for the reconstruction and modernization of material facilities in education is already developing, we must support and develop the sociopolitical nature of the movement. We must broaden its scale and enrich the forms of participation in it; efforts and means must be focused on the creation of the training of children starting with the age of six and for broad professional training in vocational training complexes. Plans must be drafted on a high modern level; the active participation of university and secondary students, teachers, and instructors must be insured in the reconstruction and modernization of the schools and education projects. The direct participation of the students yields not only economic but exceptionally strong educational results.

Under the conditions of real socialism the interaction between the individual and society is closely linked with the living environment.

It would be paradoxical to think that the shaping of a comprehensively developed individual may take place in the conditions under which the young generation is currently studying. Unquestionably, its living environment will be the work of daring planners, educators, artists, builders, designers, psychologists, stage designers, methodists, and art experts. It is already clear that the material and technical base of education will be changed qualitatively and become an essential component of the living environment of the harmoniously developing individual.

The state-social principle is a basic principle in the management of education, Aleksandur Pol stressed. The assertion of the state-social principle in the management of education is an objective law created by the dynamics of the political, economic, social, and cultural processes of the development of the socialist society.

The educational system is not created to present man with knowledge. It is a factor of man's development.

Consequently, it is related practical experience and the social realization of the potential of the young generation. The purpose of the educational system is to insure the spiritual reproduction of the nation, for which reason it is integrated with the other areas of social life, the state, economic, and social organs and organizations, science, culture, and, particularly, the programs for the esthetic upbringing of the people and the youth.

A total of 27 okrug and 1 city (Sofia) and 310 obshtina and rayon public education councils were elected at the conferences and meetings. School boards have been set up in all educational institutions. The newly established organs are becoming, to an ever greater extent, effective management units. Their activities are particularly useful in enriching the schools' material facilities in honor of the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state.

The provisional statutes on the work of the state-social public education organs, set up by the Ministry of Public Education, have played a positive role so far.

In nearly all okrugs okrug BCP Committee Plenums and okrug people's council sessions are taking place on the adoption of programs for the implementation of the decisions of the July 1979 BCP Central Committee Plenum and for the development of education in the Eighth Five-Year Plan.

The state-social organs have undertaken the comprehensive solution of education problems. Closely interacting with the Komsomol organizations, the Fatherland Front, the trade unions, and the cultural institutes, are already providing valuable aid to the schools in the training and upbringing of the students, upgrading the pedagogical standards of the parents, tutors, and workers collectives, and in bringing education closer to science and culture. In this area the role of the social organizations in the schools will become ever more responsible.

Higher exactingness combined with respect is encouraging the education collectives to enhance the quality of the training-education process in accordance with the new education purposes, encouraging VUZ teachers to improve their training on the level of the latest achievements of contemporary science and practice. It makes it incumbent upon the leading cadres to provide effective management of education. Wherever high criteria have been set for assessing training-education activities, results have been improving steadily.

The experience of a number of okrugs has convincingly proved that whenever a school seeks political measurements of its activities, and when it organically links it with the problems and the tasks of society, the results of training and education work improve decisively. An eloquent example was given by Stara Zagora Okrug which initiated a meaningful discussion on the professional and civic duty of the teacher and on the political criteria of education work.

A feeling for the new becomes particularly valuable in the circumstances now being developed in the field of education. This intransient value of the contemporary style of management is becoming an essential feature of the educator and the workers in the education system. It becomes a real test for the cadres which must give scope to the development of the new and broaden its application.

More than ever before, today the problems of the education system must be resolved on the basis of the program-target approach. The use of this approach would be inconceivable without a profound knowledge of the theory of education. At the same time, the country is developing valuable experience in the socialist organization of educational and student work. The summing up and utilization of this experience presumes

extensive possibilities for upgrading the effectiveness of training and education in the spirit of the requirements of the national party conference.

The help of the mass information media will be of exceptional importance. The nationwide program calls for the formulation and implementation of specialized and general educational programs on Bulgarian television and radio, for students, teachers, and workers in education.

The reorganization of the educational system on the basis of the decisions of the BCP Central Committee Plenum represents the front line positions which can be assumed by anyone who wishes to invest his work in the communist upbringing of the young Bulgarian generation and the creation of new working people who will insure the social and cultural advancement, prosperity, and glory of our homeland! In such front line positions there is no place for relaxation and complacency! Here one must always work with a feeling of dissatisfaction and a striving toward eternal search, the minister of public education emphasized.

The many-sidedly and, in the future, comprehensively developed harmonious individual is an age-old human dream which real socialism alone can attain. The progress toward this horizon cannot be a campaign. It means the gradual and purposeful discovery of talents and their natural interdependence and reciprocal encouragement. That is why the process of harmonizing the individual is infinite in its uninterrupted implementation and justified from the sociohistorical viewpoint.

Aleksandur Fol concluded by citing the remarkable statement by Comrade Todor Zhivkov: "The school is a bridge to the future crossed by one generation after another of a nation. Let each one of us and all together do everything possible to fulfill our patriotic duty of enabling the Bulgarian school to lead our children and grandchildren, our people, and our homeland, Bulgaria, ever ahead, higher, and ever closer to the communist ideal of man and society!"

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PUBLIC LANDS USURPED, CORRUPT OFFICIALS EXPOSED

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 May 80 p 2

[BTA: "In the Committee for State and People's Control"]

[Text] In keeping with the decisions of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Council of Ministers and the instructions given in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's letter of 1975 regarding the protection of land and forest resources from plundering and unique natural beauty spots from destruction, the Committee for State and People's Control made an inspection of the land and forest resources in the Iskur defile (the rayon of the Svoze settlement system, Sofia Okrug).

The inspection established that gross violations of the laws have occurred and lands have been ransacked of agricultural and forest resources on a mass scale. In this area, about 6000 illegal transactions involving private contracts have been made, and in this way more than 5000 decares of croplands and meadows have been appropriated. Unscrupulous citizens, nonresidents of the rayon, taking advantage of the inaction of the obshtina people's councils and agencies of the public prosecutor's office and court in the rayon, have illegally come into possession of landed estates with notarial deeds of ownership despite the explicit prohibition in the Law on Citizens' Property.

On the more than 100 decares of the forest-resource land that have been grabbed and the landed estates that have been acquired in violation of the established regulations, 7974 different types of buildings have been illegally constructed on unregulated sites. In order to circumvent the legal edicts and take advantage, without justification, of the established rules for buildings constructed prior to 31 December 1977, a number of citizens in 1978 declared nonexistent structures on the sites they had acquired, without being brought to account by the authorities.

Contributing very greatly to the carrying out of these illegal transactions and construction were not only the inaction of the agencies of the okrug people's council, the okrug and rayon court and the public prosecutor's office, but also the violations tolerated by the obshtina people's

councils and agencies of the Ministry of Forests and the Forest Industry.

The chairman of the executive committee of the Svoge obshtina people's council, Khristo Khristov, and the mayors of the village of Rebrovo, Vladimir Georgiev, and the village of Batuliya, Nikola Spasov, in violation of enforceable enactments issued certificates for the sale and partition of hereditary agricultural lands, thus making it easier for unscrupulous citizens to usurp public lands.

The rayon judge, Atanas Antov, instead of cutting short these illegal actions of the obshtina people's councils and mayor's offices, with a free hand and illegally issued notarial deeds for sales, organized partition proceedings and approved agreements for the partition of agricultural lands, citing documents issued by agencies of the people's councils.

Owing to the inaction displayed by Ferdinand Mitev, forestry director in Svoge, and the making of too few demands on the part of agencies of the Ministry of Forests and Forest Industry, the forest-land areas that were wrongly given away and plundered have not been restored.

The inaction of the state agencies resulted in chaotic and illegal construction and the usurpation of public lands.

The executive committee of the Sofia okrug people's council did not take the necessary measures to cut short the illegal sales and construction.

It has been established that, without legal basis, the general director of the okrug construction organization, Dimitur Zaev, entered into contracts for the construction of private villas in different rayons of Sofia Okrug. Some of them were built without an approved construction policy. Approved architectural and construction plans were violated. Manpower, machinery and materials were diverted from projects of great economic significance.

All this shows that the okrug and obshtina people's councils, the mayor's offices, the National Agrarian-Industrial Union and the Ministry of Forests and Forest Industry have not fulfilled their obligations of protecting the land from encroachments.

The Committee for State and People's Control, taking into consideration the exceptional importance of the problem of protecting agricultural and forest lands and nature from the encroachments of unscrupulous citizens, has called the attention of the Central Committee of the Sofia Okrug to, and sought appropriate accounting from, the guilty officials: the chairman of the executive committee of the Svoge obshtina people's council, Khristo Khristov; the mayors of the village of Rebrovo, Vladimir Georgiev, and the village of Batuliya, Nikola Spasov; and the acting director of the Svoge united forestry station, Ferdinand Mitev.

The office of the okrug party committee has imposed party penalties and dismissed from office the general director of SMK [construction and installation combine], Engineer Dimitur Zaev, and the director of the same combine, Veselin Vasiliev.

The executive committee of the Sofia okrug people's council is obliged to draw conclusions about the work of the executive committee of the Svoge obshtina people's council and its agencies locally, and to undertake as well measures for strict enforcement of the law against all ravishers of the land and for protection of the natural sights in the Iskur defile.

Agencies of the national control system are entrusted with continuing inspections in other rayons of the country as well and with taking the strictest measures against state and economic bodies that permit seizures of public land, the carrying out of illegal construction and the violation of natural beauty spots.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER COMMENTS ON GDR ROLE IN WARSAW PACT

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 35 No 8, 1980 signed to press 10 Apr 80
pp 289-294

[Commentary by Col Gen Heinz Kessler, member SED Central Committee; deputy minister for national defense: "On the 25th Anniversary of the Warsaw Pact: In a Firm Armed Alliance for Peace and Socialism"]

[Text] On 14 May 1980, a few days after the 35th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism, the member nations of the Warsaw Pact Organization can look back to a quarter century of successful struggle for the protection of the revolutionary accomplishments of their peoples and for the defense of peace in Europe.

A New Type of Military Coalition

With the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, the foundation was laid for a multilateral military-political alliance which does not serve the preparation for and unleashing of wars, but rather their prevention.

This fundamental fact proves--and is an important starting point for the party organizations in their political work--that a new type of military coalition has been created with the Warsaw defense alliance, which can only exist in a socialist society. In the course of development of socialist nations, new forms of fraternal cooperation in all areas develop by necessity, so also in the military field. This occurs under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties, which make the legality of the socialist revolution a reality in their countries, with consideration of specific national interests. The uniformity of interests, goals, and missions of the socialist nations forms the solid basis for the brotherhood in class and in arms, and of the military strength and the political and moral superiority of the defense organization of the Warsaw Pact over every imperialist military alliance.

Military Unity is Necessary

The necessity for collective defense efforts of socialism has become clearer than ever before at this time. In face of the imperialist armaments race,

the growing threat to world peace through NATO, which serves the reactionary American global strategy, W. I. Lenin's warning, that the struggle against the forces of the international monopoly capital is far from over, proves to be very applicable. In 1920 he declared: "Faced with the huge front of imperialist powers we, who fight against imperialism, represent an alliance which needs close military unity." It is as true today as it was then that we "may not turn away from this unity." (W. I. Lenin, Works, Vol 30 p 316)

The SED, like its brother parties, unflinchingly holds true to the premise that further progress in the development of socialism and communism in the socialist community of nations depends largely on securing world peace. The military power of the socialist nations fraternally allied with the Soviet Union, the preparedness and capability of their armies to destroy every aggressor, play an extremely important role under this aspect. In the international power game, we must primarily thank these factors that up until now peace has been preserved in Europe, that essential progress has been achieved in political detente, and that military conflicts in other parts of the world could be curbed and overcome.

Gathered Closely Around the USSR

The Soviet Union and its strike forces carry now, as they did at the time of the signing of the Warsaw Pact, the main burden of the struggle for securing the peace. The Soviet Union selflessly gives its political, economic, scientific, cultural and military potential for the defense of socialism. The unification of the socialist nations around the USSR guarantees to each individual country speedy development of a socialist society and an increase in its defensive powers. The strike forces of the Soviet Union protect the present and the future of their own people and of all other peoples.

Historical experiences of decades find their expression in the always true watchword: "To learn from the Soviet Union means to learn how to be victorious." To act accordingly, and to continuously strengthen the brotherhood in arms with the strike forces of the Soviet Union and all other Warsaw Pact nations, is the decisive prerequisite for an ever-increasing combat strength and combat readiness for every socialist army.

The education of citizens in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and of socialist patriotism is a continuous concern of all party organizations. In the brotherhood in arms of the allied armies, the Leninist principle of internationalism becomes reality in the military realm. All Warsaw Pact leadership activities are based on this. The representatives of the Warsaw Pact nations and their strike forces are guided in their decisions by uniform Marxist-Leninist concepts in theory as well as practice of socialist militarism.

Close Relations Between Comrades

This applies, for example, to the steady perfection of principles and methods of combat and operative training. This includes the organization and structure

of troops as well as their equipment and armament. Also mentioned in this connection must be problems of tactical, operational and strategic cooperation, coordination in the training of cadres, mutuality in the standardization of armament and the coordination in military science and military technical research and development. As a result of this cooperation, which is marked by the spirit of proletarian internationalism and solid socialist brotherhood in arms, the defense capability of the Warsaw Pact nations is continuously strengthened and the combat potential of their strike forces is increased.

The range of relations reaches from leadership activities of our defense alliance to matters of everyday military life. Close, fraternal relations exist between the National People's Army [NVA] and the Soviet strike forces in Germany. Members of the NVA air force and air defense, side by side with their Soviet comrades and brothers in arms of other armies, secure the air space of the socialist brother countries around the clock. Our sea borders are reliably protected by the cooperation between the Soviet Baltic fleet, the GDR navy and the Polish fleet.

Exercises and maneuvers of allied armies were and still are schools of socialist brotherhood in arms and military mastery. It can be said that this goal-directed cooperation manifests itself in numerous measures of common training, in the exchange of experience at all levels, in military competitions and military sports competitions and in common social and cultural events.

Consciously for the Protection of the Homeland

The military strength of the united strike forces of the Warsaw Pact is increasing because the defenders of the socialist fatherland consciously use their knowledge and their ability for the protection of their homeland and of the entire socialist community. It is a consciousness by members of the army which is based on workers class ideology and on political knowledge and socialist convictions, their political and military thinking and actions based on a class consciousness, which enables them to reach great accomplishments when gaining and using military know-how and ability. Love and loyalty to the workers class and to their Marxist-Leninist vanguard, firm ties to the workers of their own country, lasting friendship with the peoples of their brother countries as well as their armies, and the unflinching certainty of having reliable comrades in arms at their side, are never-ending sources of strength and of confidence in victory.

In assessing the situation realistically, the Warsaw Pact states take on new tasks in accordance with concrete conditions at the beginning of the 1980's. Not even for a moment do they fail to recognize that the international situation has become markedly more complicated. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, declared in January in the Moscow Bauman city district: "It has been clearly evident for some time now that leading circles in the United States and in some other NATO countries have embarked on an antidetente course, on a course of inciting the armaments race, which increases the danger of war."

The Responsibility Keeps Growing

In the interest of peace and detente, this situation requires also from the workers in the GDR and from its strike forces the continuous strengthening of their country's defense. The responsibility of the NVA within the socialist military coalition, right between the two social systems, for keeping NATO's desire for aggression in check, is growing. As Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee, declared during a consultation with the first secretaries of the kreis leaderships, it is important "to continuously secure a high combat strength and combat readiness at the side of the Soviet strike forces and the other brother armies which are united in the Warsaw Pact. It must at all times meet the requirements of the class struggle, the continuous military developments and of defense in all its variations."

Varied Tasks

Varied tasks which must be accomplished as part of the duties to the alliance, result from this. They concern education in political ideology, combat training, continuous introduction of modern combat and warfare techniques and their quick mastery. They also include continuous troop leadership qualification, military scientific and military technological research, training and extended training of cadres and much more. Their mastery makes high demands on all commanders, headquarters, political organs and party organizations.

The NVA is striving for the most honorable patriotic and internationalistic fulfillment of its duties as they were laid down in the basic orders by the minister of national defense for the training year 1979/80. The socialist competition called "Combat Position 80--United with the Brothers in Arms, Always Alert and Combat Ready!" develops initiatives, creative thinking and concrete actions. All of its serves the purpose of securing rapid growth of military strength by effectively using the material and financial means at the disposal of our strike forces, and thus to make the necessary contribution to the strengthening of the socialist military coalition.

Under Party Leadership

The decisive basis for the continued strengthening of the GDR's defense capabilities is the fact that the entire national defense and the military system are under SED leadership. In coordination with the CPSU and the other brother parties, the SED analyzes internal and international factors in shaping the developed socialist society as well as tendencies in military development. It carries out all practical defense measures--starting with safeguarding the economy to building up the strike forces and increasing their combat readiness, to the strengthening of civil defense and the education of the entire population for defense preparedness.

The demands for increased defense efforts within the Warsaw Pact go beyond the strike forces to the workers class and to all workers of our country, because the protection of the revolutionary accomplishments concerns all

people, is the common duty of all brother countries united in the socialist defense alliance. "If we consider the many different preparations for aggression by NATO," explained General Heinz Hoffman at the 11th Congress of the SED Central Committee, "then the measures to be taken by our defense coalition must be complex and must include all spheres--the political, economic, ideological and especially the military." This is true for the Warsaw Pact Organization in general as well as for each individual pact country and includes all problems relating to the preparation for defense against aggression as well as the destruction of every aggressor.

In connection with the general strengthening of the nations of the socialist community, significant tasks must be carried out in the GDR as well, in order to make an even greater contribution, so that NATO's striving for military superiority can still be thwarted in the future. The GDR's defense strength, especially the strength of its army, is based on fulfilled or overfulfilled economic plans, on scientific and scientific technical achievements, on the educational level of the people, on health and on the results reached in all other social areas while fulfilling the resolutions of the Ninth SED Congress. It is a result of the will, the preparedness and the ability of the people and strike forces to protect socialism with body and soul, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet people and its army as well as all other peoples of the Warsaw Pact nations.

Concern of the Entire Society

The bezirk and kreis party organizations, the basic organizations in cooperatives and enterprises, in government, institutions and installations are being confronted with national defense problems in a great variety of ways. They are socialist defense training, recruiting new military cadres, the combat preparedness of the task forces of the worker class and the civil defense, to the cooperation with border troops in the territory. As experience has shown, how these demands are recognized and dealt with as demands concerning the entire society depends decisively on the influence of the party.

The conviction of the justness and victoriousness of the common mission of the united strike forces is expressed in our republic by the fact that the brotherhood in arms between the NVA and the Soviet army, especially those in Germany and the Baltic fleet, is not limited to the barracks or to military objects. Our citizens bring the same love and respect to the soldiers and sailors from Moscow, Leningrad or Novosibirsk as to the ones from Berlin, Rostock or Suhl. The close fraternal relations reflect the fact that the brotherhood in arms has become of very dear concern to the party, to the worker class and to the entire nation.

Furthering the Brotherhood-in-arms

Kreis party organizations and many basic organizations work toward this goal. They consider it a permanent part of their work, to carry out measures in order to strengthen the brotherhood in arms. In many places, meetings between

the brothers in arms and the population, common manifestations, cultural and sports events, youth forums as well as other similar events highlight the social life.

The 25th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact is a worthy occasion for all party organizations to contribute with new initiatives to the strengthening of the brotherhood in class and in arms with the Soviet army and the other brother armies.

9328

C80: 2300

ACADEMY CHIEF REVIEWS 'SOCIALIST DEFENSE ALLIANCE' ADVANTAGES

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 13 No 18, 1980 signed to press 28 Apr 80 pp 5-7

[Article by Lt Gen Prof Hans Wiesner, chief, Friedrich Engels Military Academy: "Armed Protection of Socialism Guarantees Peace: On the 35th Anniversary of the Liberation"]

[Text] At the turn to the 1980's, the international class struggle has intensified considerably. The imperialist confrontation course against the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries again threatens peace in Europe and risks the results of detente. The NATO nations force the armaments race in order to be able to subjugate the Soviet Union and the socialist community nations through military superiority. This goal is to be reached with the long-term armaments program, the construction of new, even more dangerous weapons systems, the positioning of an additional 600 intermediate-range rockets in Europe and with many other measures. In his message to the U.S. Congress in January of this year, President Carter laid claim to world dominion which recalled the dark times of the cold war. All this is happening with disregard to many and considerable Soviet peace initiatives and--how could it be otherwise--under the pretense of a "threat from the East."

On the eve of the 35th anniversary of the liberation from fascism, of the heroic Soviet victory over the then prevailing reactionary forces of imperialist world reaction, in commemoration of the enormous blood sacrifices, which the Soviet Union, above all, made during World War II for peace and for a happy future for mankind, this must stir all progressive people.

This war, which was forced on the Soviet Union, was then the biggest attack on the Soviet Union by world imperialism, a class struggle between two opposite social systems which did not allow for compromise. It became the most difficult test which the first nation of workers and peasants had to pass. This war decided not only the fate of the Soviet Union, but also of all other European nations; it was decisive for the future of world civilization, for peace, democracy and social progress.

USSR--Dominant Force in the Struggle of All Peoples Against Hitler Fascism

The nations of the world know very well and will always remember that the Soviet Union was the driving force behind preventing Hitler from dominating the world. The Soviet Union carried the main burden of the war and played the decisive role in the destruction of German fascism and, later, of Japanese militarism.

The Soviet people and their army, under Lenin's communist party, defended the freedom and independence of the socialist fatherland. They fulfilled their internationalist class mission in honor and thus fulfilled their historical mission of liberation.

This was entirely in accordance with the teaching of the classicists of Marxism-Leninism. Already during the first days of the Great Socialist October Revolution, Lenin had declared that totally new strike forces had come into being with the rise of Soviet power, which not only protected the accomplishments of the workers of their country, but also the cause of the socialist revolution and of peace. The "man with the rifle" is no longer a threat in socialism, but rather a protection of the interests of the workers and of the peace-loving people of the world. In the course of the Great Patriotic War, Soviet strike forces liberated, totally or in part, the territory of 10 European countries with 133 million people, as well as part of the territory of two Asian nations with approximately 70 million people. By destroying the main forces of the fascist bloc, the Soviet Union played the decisive role in the liberation of other countries, even though Soviet troops had not set foot on their soil.

Approximately 7 million Soviet soldiers participated in the bloody battles for the liberation of the eastern, central and southern European nations, and more than 1.5 million in the liberation of North China and the northern part of Korea. In these battles, more than 1 million Soviet soldiers and officers lost their lives, and the total loss in terms of wounded and those missing in action amounted to more than 3 million. In total, the Great Patriotic War for the liberation of the Soviet Union and of all other nations from fascism cost the Soviet people 20 million lives. In its struggle against the common enemy, the community of nations which today builds up socialism and the brotherhood in arms of their armies, grew strong.

The victory of the Soviet Union and the Soviet army over fascism had an extraordinarily deep influence on the course of international development after the war. As the Socialist world system took shape, the general crisis of capitalism intensified. The struggle of the workers movement in the capitalist countries took an enormous upswing. The imperialist colonial system collapsed. The communist movement became the most influential force of the present time. The international balance of power in the world changed fundamentally in favor of socialism.

Since then, the unity and strength of the worldwide socialist community have grown steadily. Today, the communist and workers parties are the force which strengthens this community more and more. Our policy of peace and of successful defense against imperialist attempts of aggression led to considerable progress for detente during the 1970's and secured the accomplishments of World War II and of the entire postwar development. The socialist peace strategy has proven itself and not even imperialist attempts to change the military balance of forces in Europe and to destroy detente will cause us to abandon it.

Unshakeable Fraternal Alliance Between SED and CPSU, GDR and USSR

The military defeat of fascist German imperialism by the Soviet army and the liberation of our people from Hitler fascism was the decisive prerequisite for the rise of the worker and peasant power in our GDR. The entire development of the GDR has since occurred with the constant fraternal help and support by the Soviet Union and is an expression of lasting friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and the SED, between our people and the Soviet people. The treaty over friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the GDR and the USSR dated 7 October 1975 forms the basis for our cooperation. The fundamental historical lesson is confirmed: our worker and peasant power, its growing strength and attraction are unthinkable without the deep roots in the fraternal alliance of the socialist nations united around the Soviet Union.

To the degree to which we became more and more part of this socialist community, completely new relations, new fraternal feelings have developed between our peoples. These close ties have caused every member of the socialist community to flourish. The national interests of every socialist nation and the international interests of the socialist community form an organic unit. The exploitation of possibilities of socialist international work distribution led to increased efficiency of socialist production, which in turn made possible greater satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the people of all nations.

But in this connection it must also be emphasized clearly: This development would not have been possible without the military protection by the Soviet Union, without the constant preparedness of the Soviet strike forces to provide armed protection for the peaceful and democratic development of our republic and other brother countries. Since the first day of its founding, the GDR was especially subjected to the pressures and aggressive efforts of imperialism. Twice, in 1953 and in 1961, imperialism made direct efforts to destroy socialism in our republic and to annex the GDR. Imperialist circles had already prepared for "Day X" with detailed plans. Both counter-revolutionary attempts were able to be thwarted. Task forces of the worker class and units of the NVA, with active support by Soviet troops stationed in the GDR, took the borders under firm control.

Socialist Defense Alliance Proved Itself

Also during the past 35 years, the USSR has carried the main burden in the struggle for peace and securing of social achievements. The close political and military alliance of our people concluded after 1945 became the decisive factor in securing social progress. An expression of this is the Warsaw Pact Organization, the 25th anniversary of which we are celebrating in May of this year.

This collective organization of socialist states, which allied also the military forces of our nations in addition to the political and economic power in a new way, has passed its historical trial period in many ways.

By coordinating their foreign policy and security measures with the goal of maintaining and safeguarding peace, the Warsaw Pact nations were able to achieve more than just to create favorable international conditions for the development of socialism and communism in our countries. The workers in other nations also benefited. The Warsaw Pact nations have helped in curbing acts of aggression and international caprice of imperialism and in preventing a nuclear world war. The principles of peaceful coexistence in the relations between nations of different social orders were recognized worldwide and the basic requirements for security in Europe were fulfilled. In a long struggle against the forces of aggression and retaliation, the Warsaw Pact nations succeeded in turning the cold war into detente. But the armies of our coalition are aware even now of their great responsibility in not giving the imperialist war psychosis and material preparations for war a chance. With their efforts for the military protection of socialism, they meet the danger of war, intensified by imperialist extremists, head on.

The defense of the socialist fatherland and of peace cannot be left to each state individually. It is possible only in the collective alliance, by uniting the military potential of all nations. Lenin wrote that all socialist nations need a close military alliance in addition to an economic alliance, that we, "facing the immense front of imperialist powers... constitute an alliance which needs a close military tenacity" and that a "unison of military forces is indispensable."

Fundamental Difference Between Warsaw Pact and NATO

The political, economic and military cooperation reached a higher degree with the founding of the Warsaw Pact. For the first time in history, there was an alliance between nations which became the strongest peace force on earth, because it is governed by socialist principles. The result was a coalition of a totally new, socialist character, with socialist principles which led to its peacekeeping functions and which, in the 25 years of its existence, came to realization through Lenin's demand for the collective defense of socialism. In this respect, the Warsaw Pact differs fundamentally from all imperialist military alliances as far as goals and missions are concerned. While they are aimed against socialist nations and every freedom-loving movement, the socialist alliance is a real defense organization.

Imperialist alliances are marked by competition and by efforts of the strong to dominate the weaker partner. The Warsaw Pact, on the other hand, is a voluntary alliance of socialist nations, based on the total equality of its members. It is an expression of new relations which have developed on the basis of proletarian internationalism between brother nations and an example for the free, equal coexistence of all nations.

The decisive reason for the high effectiveness of our military alliance is the unity of our Marxist-Leninist parties. In accordance with Lenin's warning that our peace efforts also require the "unity of military forces" in fact of the threat by imperialism, the communist and worker parties always combine their peace initiatives with measures for the strengthening of the class and arms alliance.

An essential factor of its stability continues to be the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact nations which has been worked out with consideration to the specific requirements of the individual nations, but which is basically uniform. We center on this military doctrine which is based on Soviet experience, because it is based principally on the fundamental political and military changes after World War II and because it plans for the protection and the defense of socialism and of peace together with the armies of all brother countries.

This lends a very scientific character to the military efforts of our allies, it guarantees the unity of views and of practical measures for the further strengthening of defense and the collective development of the strike forces. The strength of the Warsaw Pact armies is based on the Marxist-Leninist military science developed by the Soviet Union, which represents the most progressive state of military thinking for the development of defense capabilities of the socialist states, and which is the basis for the leadership of our strike forces.

National People's Army Makes Use of Experience of Soviet Army

Strength factors of our defense alliance are the uniformly followed military technical policy, the ever-increasing standardization of arms and equipment, and the uniform training which follows the Soviet example and is oriented toward its high standards.

This way, the GDR's NVA has, during the past 25 years, made its contribution to the strengthening of the collective defense of the socialist community of states. And if today it is ready and able to fulfill its military class mission within the alliance, it is because from the beginning we let ourselves be guided by the principle: To learn from the Soviet army means to learn how to be victorious.

The rich combat experience of the Soviet strike forces and the high degree of its combat strength and combat readiness are and always have been an inspiring model for our army. This gives us the strength to fulfill our

own responsible missions within the defense coalition. Because we were able to learn from the experience of our Soviet brothers in arms, we did not have to experiment with questions regarding the character of the army, its structure, leadership, armament, political and military training and education. As Erich Honecker emphasized, we did not need to engage in experiments.

Support of the NVA by our Soviet friends meant and still means:

- assistance in training of military NVA cadres;
- continuous equipping of our army with modern military technology
- teaching the rich Soviet experience to members of the armed forces during training and education; and
- teaching the latest Soviet military science.

All this occurs in many ways and through the firm ties which have formed between the Soviet forces in Germany and the NVA since 1956. If we can say today with pride that our army makes a contribution in our socialist defense alliance in many areas, which is recognized by our brothers in arms, then we must primarily thank our Soviet comrades for that.

Thanks to the leadership of our Marxist-Leninist party, thanks to the understanding and readiness of our workers class and all workers, always to do everything possible for the defense of the socialist fatherland and always to have the necessary forces and means for it ready, the NVA, within a historically short period of time, was able to become an equal partner in the alliance of socialist strike forces.

The peoples' liberation from fascism 35 years ago by the Soviet army and the struggle for peace and social progress led by the socialist community of states since then prove that the socialist struggle for peace and the defense capability of socialism form an inseparable unit. Neither one can be separated from the other.

General Heinz Hoffmann emphasized: "When securing the peace and building the developed socialist society," we will let ourselves be guided by "prudence and decisiveness." Members of the NVA will also in the future conscientiously fulfill their tasks, true to their patriotic and internationalistic soldiers' duties.

9328

CSO: 2300

SELF-PROPELLED ARTILLERY EXERCISE DESCRIBED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 9, 1980 signed to press 25 Feb 80 p 5

[Article by Lt Col Siegfried Posselt: "Seven Seconds Interval, Fire!"]

[Text] Tactical maneuvers with shooting by the Schwarz battery of the Hans Fischer unit before the 24th anniversary of the NVA [National People's Army].

Final testing between signal lights and pushbuttons after weeks of hard training in new technology. Experiences and impressions of the Rachow crew with a self-propelled 152 mm howitzer--as reported by the NVA.

Suddenly the machine comes to a halt. Corporal Peter Schoening presses against a push rod. The casing clamp releases. He jumps out of the driver's cab, pulls the hood of the muzzle brake, turns the floodlights toward the rear, slides back into his seat behind the controls and closes the luke. He must defend against a counterattack. This is the tactical plan in this phase of the maneuver. The mechanized infantry and grenadiers count on artillery support. While advancing, the Schwarz battery received the order to take an unprepared position and to open fire while in motion.

Engine Noise Drowns Out Fire Order

The gun squad has gone into "V" formation. The self-propelled 152 mm howitzers look compact and imposing. The stocky, powerful tubes move over the long drawn-out engine room as if moved by the hand of a ghost. No orders can be heard, no one can be seen.

Corporal Bernd Rachow in the commander's seat in the turret of the lead gun wrinkles his forehead. He tries to tighten his helmet. The engine runs. Its noise drowns out the battery officer's order to fire, which comes weakly and disruptedly through the headphones. Now there is no time to investigate the cause. Within minutes they must open fire. The umpire's stopwatch starts to tick as soon as they are in combat position until the

first shot is fired. But Bernd Rachow has not been able to get either elevation or direction. He cannot ask them to repeat. That would mean that the radio connection has to be interrupted. The commander from the lead gun will repeat the order for everybody. That means that the engine must be stopped. Bernd Rachow pushes the intercom button. There is impatience in his voice. A tremor goes through the machine. Then sudden quiet. Then he recognizes the Mecklenburg "R" of the Rostocker: Elevation 500, from base position left 0-61.... Finally! The commander looks relieved. Without their helmets, the crew would be able to hear his sigh of relief.

Bad Memories

Orders were for electronic aiming. But for this, the engine would have to run at 1200 rpm. Manual aiming requires more energy. But what else is there to do. Corporal Reinhard Wasse, the first gunner, glances at the three green signals in front of him. They are lit: The elevation which he selected agrees with the tube elevation. What remains is the target azimuth. The reticule of the panoramic telescope moves in direction of the main point of reference, and finally ends up right above it. But Reinhard Wasse is not even considering letting go of the handwheel of the traversing mechanism. He is clutching it tightly. It is knee-high. He could touch it with his thigh. But there is still the bad memory of admission to the tactical exercise, where an error of 0-11 occurred this way, when the guns had to be brought to zero line. He should have noticed the error himself. But he was filled with only one thought: ... it's always the same. That thought had prevented him from checking the value. Reinhard Wasse can still see Major Loeffler, unit commander, crawling into the turret. No, this shall not happen to him a second time. His eyes survey the clinometer bubbles, rest for seconds on the green signals showing consistency in direction, return to the reticule of the panoramic telescope. The crew wants to keep its lead position in the competition called Combat Position 80. He, Reinhard Wasse, is not going to risk losing it. Private Heins-Dieter Buchholz received the order to load from Corporal Bernd Rachow. He had stepped from one leg to another, while the umpire checked over the setting of the first gunner. He takes a grenade out of the revolving ammunition box, grasps its base plate with his left hand, its headpiece with his right, and steps to the right. The narrowness of the room and the intercom cable dangling on his body hinder him. The grenade is heavy.

Like an infant it rests in his arms. Carefully he places it on the charger. Against the rubbersleeve of the feed mechanism. Just like in tube alignment. His only thought: "Just don't tilt it." He feels the others looking at him. How often they have said to him jokingly that he should not embarrass them. He cannot seem to move fast enough. His right thumb presses a red button. "Dosylka," it says. That means "Feed" in German. Even 3 months ago, the Russian word would have irritated him. Words like that had not been part of the vocabulary learned in school.

Tenacity as Party Mission

For all of them, the big learning exercise had started after the first self-propelled 152 mm howitzer had driven up in their technical training center. Their battery officer, Lt Uwe Hellmich, had practically tormented them. The cursed written assignments which he had them write every second or third day in the beginning of their technical training had burdened them like nightmares. For example: Draw the switch desk of the feeder mechanism and letter it in Russian and German! Or: Which safety measures must be observed during firing? And if the lieutenant had the notebooks collected early in the morning, they knew what would happen. Not enough that he asked questions like that and robbed them of any chance to cheat. He even checked what notes they had taken during class and he insisted on new notebooks if they were not neat and clear. During off-hours, of course. And during class, he made them go individually to the machine for practical review.

To the crewleader as well as the first and second gunner: What do the various buttons and signal lights mean, where are the pinions for the clinometer, which sequence must be observed when checking the loading and feeding equipment.... Fine and dandy: Youth project "New Technology." The commander had passed it on to the Free German Youth organization. But it was asking quite a bit. Especially "at that age!" At least 27-year old Pfc Reinhard Wasse had thought so. But in spite of that they studied their notes evenings, lying on their beds, and reread them again before class. How did the lieutenant get them to do it? Today they can't say any more for sure. With points and grades? Certainly. Also the fact that an extra pass sometimes came along with points and grades. For sure!

Not to be underestimated was the realization, to which he led them step by step: If they wanted to be victorious over the enemy in battle, then they had to learn! Tenaciously. The intensified military political situation, as it had been described by the Eleventh Congress of the Central Committee, did not leave any other choice. What good would modern Soviet technology do them if they did not know how to use it to advantage. To teach them what is required for that--that had been the party organization's mission to Lt. Uwe Hellmich. Deadline: 3 weeks before the exercise--mid-January. Reports: Monthly, at every meeting. And Corporal Bernd Rachow, still young for an SED candidate and at times a little temperamental, had tried to be his ally. Although learning was difficult for him, too.

When Seconds Turn Into Minutes

Private Heinz-Dieter Buchholz hears the impact of the grenade in the tube. The feed chain rattles back. He has prepared the loading and now he follows up with the cartridge. Subconsciously he hears the call of the team chief to press the breech--that yellow lever behind the base plate on the right. Should he forget this, then the first gunner could not fire...Reinhard Wasse feels for the control deck with his right hand. His left clasps

the wheel of the traversing gear. Waiting makes him nervous. Seconds turn into minutes. Crackling in his headgear alerts him. Then the commander's voice. "Fire!" Breaking through the built-up tension. Push the button. The optical flash. A dull explosion. They hang on. The tube snaps back, goes forward again. The machine lifts its "nose," swings out. Like a rocking chair that had only been touched lightly....

At a distance, the error of the target hit is measured as 0.7 percent. The one at the side as 0-03. An A therefore. Eight of the ten missions which this battery fires lie within this range, as far as time and accuracy are concerned. They have kept their word, that they would master the new technology by the eve of the anniversary of the NVA. Also Lt Uwe Hellmich's party mission. But how should all this, at this moment, penetrate the steel walls, behind which the testing is still full under way.

The breech has opened. The cartridge is expelled. The feeder rises to the level of the loading line. Reinhard Wasse aims the gun, inserts the clinometers, reports ready to fire. This means: four rounds from every tube for the "enemy." Two of them continuous. The rest at 7-second intervals....

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CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ARTS ACADEMY PRESIDENT DISCUSSES HIS POPULAR FILM

Konrad Wolf Interview

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 34 No 15, 7 Apr 80 pp 231, 233, 236

[DER SPIEGEL interview with Konrad Wolf, film director and president, GDR Academy of Arts: "'Something Is Going on in the GDR'"]

[Text] Konrad Wolf, 54, is the most famous DEFA director whose films include "Stars," "Divided Heaven," and "I Was 19." Since 1965, Wolf has been president of the GDR Academy of Arts. The U.S. film distributor CIC will start showing Wolf's latest film "Solo Sunny" in the FRG next Friday. The film is about a GDR pop singer and her problems with men, with her colleagues, neighbors and her disinterested public, her resistance against norms and pressures and her personal misfortunes. Letters to the editor and discussions about the film --the most successful in a long time for DEFA-- have not only contained much praise but also criticism up to and including the contention that Sunny does not qualify as a shining socialist example.

[Question] Never before has a GDR film been brought out with this much fanfare. How do you explain that ?

[Answer] You will have to ask the gentlemen who have shown interest in the film. Maybe it has something to do with the very good response to the film in the GDR and with the interest and open-mindedness of the audiences to whom it appealed at the Berlin Film Festival.

[Question] Are you afraid the film might appeal for the wrong reasons? In what ways could it be misunderstood by our audiences?

[Answer] That will not happen unless the audiences are programmed the wrong way. At the Berlin Film Festival, for instance, the film was billed as a comedy. As a result, some critics dismissed it as an inconsequential entertainment film-- although not everyone agreed. It seems to me that the idea that a film is entertainment or that it has a lot of audience appeal is enough to turn some people off. Social content, serious content is usually swept aside. But I place my faith in the unsophisticated and direct receptivity of the public which may not be so easy to influence after all.

[Question] Have the GDR reviews of "Solo Sunny" been very different?

[Answer] At least nobody thought of calling the film a simple comedy. At the Kino International in Berlin it has been sold out for 10 weeks now which by our standards at least is just short of sensational. Just the same, it did not enter anyone's head to say: the otherwise high and mighty Wolf has come off his pedestal and reached down to the depths of "cheap popular taste," trying to slip in his topical social message through the back door.

[Question] Does it surprise you that the Springer papers, too, have come out with unusually favorable reviews of the film?

[Answer] Oh God, it is a little difficult for me to visualize what goes on in the hearts and minds of those people. The only thing I can do is to accept it and not ask questions. Nonetheless, these very quarters did try to tear the film down.

[Question] In the sense of trivialising it by calling it a comedy?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] What, would you say, is the programmatic significance of your protagonist?

[Answer] I dislike the word "programmatic" because it tends to weigh one individual film with one particular story down with a meaning it cannot possibly convey. My inclination is

to look at these things a bit more modestly and simply. In my view, the demands Sunny makes of herself and her environment represent an attempt on her part to make it in life in her own way. My own goal is not so terribly novel and perhaps not so terribly presumptuous: I want to draw the attention of the audience and of society generally to the fact that society as a whole cannot function unless the individuality of man and his right to self-fulfillment are consciously, carefully and patiently sustained.

[Question] Any society ?

[Answer] Yes, you are right-- any society. But I do believe that different social systems offer different opportunities to man to develop individuality. Objectively, there is no equality of opportunity. I am convinced that only socialism is capable of turning this relationship between the individual and society, however strained it may be, to mutual advantage, so as not to say to something like harmony. But I know full well that this is a long, difficult and sometimes stony road.

[Question] Western writers have said that Sunny more or less occupies a position on the fringes of today's GDR society. Do you agree ?

[Answer] No. She is right in the midst of GDR society. As for such concepts as the midst and the fringes, they are best left for geographers to figure out, or maybe to sociologists who are just barely qualified to talk about insiders and outsiders and about the fringes and the center. I reject this kind of thing. For me, there are no fringe areas, intermediate zones or central precincts in life. For me, there is no such thing as human beings of importance, of lesser importance or of no importance at all.

[Question] The press in the GDR and in the West have both noted that your film presents a new and realistic image of the GDR as it is today. Is there a difference between your film and two others from the GDR which were also shown here-- "The Legend of Paul and Paula" and "The Hiding Place" ?

[Answer] I cannot see a big difference. "Paul and Paula" by Plenzdorf and Carow was of some importance in the development of the DEFA films over the past few years. I think it was a breakthrough on the way to more realistic, true-to-life films and in an aesthetic sense as well in that light and comical scenes appear in a direct relationship to tragic

and sad scenes and in that the story was told in the poetic form of a legend.

All of this was continued in "Hiding Place" and in a number of other films as well which have now come out. "Solo Sunny" is not unique, in other words. Films grow out of an environment, a particular climate. Now please do not call me a mystic, if I say that a film like "Solo Sunny" could not have come about unless a specific social and political situation had existed in our country which not only made the film possible but in a sense provoked it.

[Question] What changes have taken place in the GDR for which this film might claim to be responsible?

[Answer] There is a more honest, more open discussion of the everyday problems of the people living in our country. What I am referring to is the socio-political program agreed upon at the last two party congresses and, for example, the enormous increase in housing construction as well as progress in women's rights. And then there is the entire field of moral and ethical development. There are still a number of unsolved questions and problems in this sphere, to be sure, but I can detect some new and promising developments. There is something going on and, to tell the truth, I am surprised at the social impact a film can have and how it can, I would not say solve but how it can give an impetus, how it can influence social developments. In the case of this film it has really happened. There have been continuing discussions, conversations, meetings, debates and an unusually large number of mostly controversial letters to the editor.

[Question] Well, after all, your film does have a bit of dynamite in it. It does not show a wholesome social scene. The saxophone player in Sunny's band is an aggressive macho type; the "diploma philosopher" is egotistical and without feeling; the cab driver is a good-hearted, affluent society oaf, and Sunny's neighbor is an informer. None of the characters you show are likeable people one would want to identify with.

[Answer] Now you remind me of some of our critics who purposely close their eyes to the dialectics and to the contradictions inherent in these characters. We consciously set out not to revert to the well-known stereotyped cliché characters. There are negative aspects to every one of these

characters, traits which you mentioned-- but there are others, too, positive and socially respectable attitudes.

The philosopher, for example, turns thumbs down on a certain affluent society life style even though there is a bit of snobbiism to it. The taxi driver clings to his own idea of happiness and tries to attain it with a touching sort of perseverance. It just is not possible for all people to be all intellect and culture. I also think one should not simply overlook the fact that the saxophonist may be a burnt-out case but that he still tries to find a bit of happiness somewhere. Some moviegoers who are used to nothing but stereotypes do not like to have such a person display other character traits which may well be respectable.

[Question] There is no denying that the emotional dialectics of these characters do make sense. But there is one point at which the film teeters on the edge of denunciation when a working woman tells the heroine a sob story, believing she, too, might become a singer. Is it not unfair to expose this character to ridicule ?

[Answer] I do not think so. You are making far too much of it. One should not take it all that seriously.

[Question] Why was the film not released until a year after its completion ?

[Answer] Half a year. I know there was a good deal of speculation and conjecture; but it really was just a matter of scheduling. In fact, I did protest a bit because one does like to see a finished product hit the screen as soon as possible. But our distribution people thought it better to save "Solo Sunny" for the opening of the 1980 season.

[Question] Now that your film is being shown in West Germany, do you think this opens the way to more of a concern with each other ?

[Answer] We shall see. I do not have any overly great expectations. I would put it more simply. Moviegoers in the FRG now have a chance to get an idea of how we live and what some of our problems are. This serves to promote understanding, certainly-- at a time when there is a great amount of mistrust and even hatred being stirred up. What has been happening during the past few months is something I went through in years goneby-- this psychosis, this anti-commu-

nist hysteria, this propaganda campaign directed against the Soviet Union. Whatever political position one takes-- no good will come of this.

I do not really believe that a film or any other artistic work can change such a state of affairs in an immediate sense. But, by communicating directly with individuals, it can stand up against such a trend; it can contribute to better understanding, to a lessening of mistrust and to preserving human values in our day and age. That is my hope. If I did not have it, I would stop making pictures.

[Question] Given the present precarious situation, can you visualize any other possibilities for German-German cultural relations ?

[Answer] Insofar as political relations improve, at least on the basis of mutual respect. Then, art and literature will be able to help in developing these relations further and in deepening them. On the other hand, I do not think one can expect art and literature alone to turn the tide. It is a question of context and it takes patience and staying power. But it must be taken out of the area of political speculation. One should not use art or cultural exchange as vehicles for bringing in one-sided political concepts through the back door. That is not only a naive way of going about things; it is harmful.

[Question] Your film was loudly acclaimed in both East and West and received several prizes at the Berlin Film Festival. Do you believe and hope that "Solo Sunny" will be a hit in West Germany, too ?

[Answer] It is very important to me for such a film to be a hit-- whether in our own country, in the FRG or elsewhere. I am not one for making films that play to empty houses. I cannot predict whether "Solo Sunny" will have the same favorable reception in the FRG that it did in the GDR and at the "Zoo-Palast" in West Berlin. At any rate, it would be nice if the West German moviegoers had fun with "Solo Sunny" and availed themselves of the opportunity at the same time of getting a clearer idea of our life.

West German Commentary

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 26 Feb 80 p 23

[Article by Wilfried Wiegand: "The Gentle Rebellion of the Women--Films for the Berlin Festival from the GDR and the Soviet Union"]

/Text/ The sensation at the Berlin Film Festival is a film from the GDR: "Solo Sunny" by Konrad Wolf. The film of which this newspaper carried a detailed review at the time of its East Berlin premiere has surpassed everything shown in Berlin thus far-- from France and the United States, from Italy and Latin America, to say nothing of countries like Finland or Israel which sent entries again to Berlin this year but which have never yet presented an outstanding film here.

The real sensation, however, is that "Solo Sunny" outstrips the films of the "young German cinema" shown here. After all, our film directors can lay claim to every conceivable freedom while the East Europeans have to work under all sorts of restrictions. What explanation is there for a GDR film of all things to be better than all the Western films shown in Berlin ?

The story of Konrad Wolf's "Solo Sunny" is easy to forget. There is nothing at all unusual about an office worker in East Berlin who tries her hand at being a pop singer but cannot cope with the stress her dream job calls for, the daily ups and downs of success and failure and finally even attempts to commit suicide. And the types of people one meets in this film are fairly interesting but they never come close to the mythical heights reached by Western movie heroes. And that is why the film's characters are quite forgettable, too.

What "Solo Sunny" does present is a wealth of semi-documentary detail, woven into the story with ingenious casualness. Backyards and hallways; streets and garbage cans; fronts of houses and railroad tracks; a pub and a cemetery-- these snapshots from East Berlin are as fresh as if we were seeing them for the first time. And in a way, we are. For the first time we are seeing a GDR film which presents an environment and an ambience in which people can actually show their emotions. Even Western moviegoers inevitably come to feel that they might just possibly be very much like one of the characters in the film.

So far, GDR films invariably served up a kind of illustrated dogmatics or, in the final analysis, propaganda for the socialist system. If one chooses, one can interpret "Solo Sunny" along these lines, too, as something of a publicity film devoted to a more tolerant GDR willing to grant the outsiders the right to live. Chances are that this is what was on Konrad Wolf's mind; but the main argument of his picture could equally well have been stated in any Western film. It simply says: Look here, these people that I am showing are all human and the most important thing about them is that they have hopes and that they can conceive of a utopian state of affairs.

What makes the film so convincing is that this basic attitude is not stated as a thesis but that it comes out as a view on life, expressed not by means of dialogue but by means of imagery. At the end of the picture the pop singer, who is all but down and out, takes up with a group of young rock musicians. At that point the camera pans over the rooves of Berlin as the theme song fades in-- a cinematic statement not expressive of anything Eastern or socialist, but of something basically human.

Just a few years ago a film such as this one would have been unimaginable. It took the new generation which has grown up under the socialist system and which does not experience it as an alien imposition but as a fait d'accompli fraught with shortcomings to permit the artists to leave the propaganda for the socialist society aside. They can instead turn their attention to the individual and observe his attitude toward things as they are.

But one must be a real artist to be able to make use of such an opportunity. Konrad Wolf, born in 1925, made use of it; his pupil, Evelyn Schmidt, born in 1949, did not. Her first film, "The Affair," has just been shown at the "Young Film Forum" in Berlin and although there are some similarities it turned out to be an old-fashioned dogmatic film after all.

Although "Affair" wastes precious few words on socialist society and although this story of adultery portrays human behavior, the young director never seems to get over her astonishment that people are different than they ought to be. People smoke and drink and have love affairs. Evelyn Schmidt shows all that much like a Sunday School teacher-- as something that ought not to be. And it comes as no surprise that the film extols petty bourgeois happiness as a high ideal.

The heroines of both pictures are women struggling to attain happiness. Both are confronted by men who are soft, weak and, in some instances, mean. This "feminist" view of things might be construed to entail criticism of GDR society. Was it not in fact invented by men and is it not being run by men? Women now are charged with endowing the system with humanity.

Interestingly enough, there was a Soviet film at the Berlin Film Festival which echoed this position: "Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears" by Vladimir Menshov. The story of several young girls in search of a husband starts in 1953. One of the girls marries a famous sports figure; but another, though pregnant, is deserted by a class-conscious TV cameraman when he discovers that she is a mere factory worker.

But as in a fairy tale, she succeeds in climbing the social ladder; 20 years later she has attained a high managerial post and now has her eyes set on marrying a skilled worker. In the meantime, the famous sports figure has become an alcoholic and the skilled worker takes a lot of convincing before he agrees to marrying a woman of higher social position. In this film, too, one notes the "feminist" outlook on weakly men who are so career-oriented that they have forgotten how to be human.

All three films now and again point to the social progress that has been attained so far. This is no doubt intended as an advertisement for socialism. But there is another facet to it which is more interesting from our point of view. Although the standard of living depicted in all of these films does not compare with that in the West, there is a common denominator just the same: As security in social terms increases, alienation and loneliness also tend to increase and human problems grow larger rather than smaller. Not surprisingly there has been some delay, but now this realization has reached the socialist countries, too. It will be interesting to see how this will affect the arts.

There may be remarkable similarities with Western films, but that does not mean by any stretch of the imagination that the socialist countries have attained to anything like comparable artistic freedom. "Solo Sunny" and "Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears" are both comedies; "The Affair" could be termed a problem film with comedy undertones. Is this prevalence of comedies an accident? Certainly not. There has been practically no attempt at tragedy in the GDR and Soviet cinema. Tragedy can be due to war, to traffic acci-

dents or even to a housing shortage, but in any event only to what the lawyers call an Act of God.

Contrary to real life, internal human conflicts may not be exteriorized by way of a criminal act. A film may show a man beating his wife, but it may not even give an intimation of his wishing to kill her. Films in the style of Hitchcock or Chabrol are equally unthinkable both in the GDR and in the Soviet Union. And it would probable be just as unthinkable for a GDR dramatist to permit his characters to resolve their conflicts along Shakespearean lines.

And so the cinema in these countries has evolved remarkable comedies. The question is when this cinema will reach the point of conceiving of man as a subject worthy of tragedy.

9478
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LESS, MORE CENTRALISM IN GOVERNMENT ARGUED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1527, 13 Apr 80
pp 17-18

[Article by Dragan Ivanovic]

[Text] Have we been making progress in recent years in centralizing affairs in the Federation? If that is so, and some think that it is, does not this signify a violation of the spirit of the system, which is oriented above all toward offering an opportunity for broad self-management decisionmaking instead of government regulation?

This was one of the major issues frequently repeated in various forms and with differing intonations in the parliamentary debate just ended on the performance of the Federal Executive Council over the last 2 years. Whether expressed as doubt, interior reflection or an assertion expressed with a greater or lesser degree of certainty, these questions consistently sounded like a call for a debate to settle the issue.

On the Brink of Two Dangers

It is natural that representatives of the FEC [Federal Executive Council] should have felt a particular obligation to respond to that challenge.

Does the Federal Executive Council--some ask, implying much in the asking--still have great power in our society in spite of what is written in the constitution? Those great powers, these delegates go on to say, are manifested in the fact that in recent months the government has undertaken a number of rigorous measures concerning the balance of payments, prices, investments, spending, and indeed even personal incomes.

Representatives of the FEC do not dispute that these steps were taken, but say that their principal attention has above all been concentrated on economic stabilization and that the context of this effort has moreover been one in which economic problems are becoming increasingly complex. Facing the augmented economic difficulties in the country, the "ministers" themselves do not hide the sincere dilemma they frequently face--which measure

and what kind of measure to choose. Constantly, they say, we have found ourselves on the brink of two realistically possible dangers.

The first is that the "self-management mechanism is still not altogether capable of effectively resolving the outstanding economic problems," and failure to take prompt action would lead to still greater troubles. Second, given that it is inevitable and necessary for the government to take steps, this could jeopardize the effort to implement the solutions embodying the system and slow down development of self-management relations.

It is not always a simple and easy matter to choose what is best between Scylla and Charybdis. This accounts for that constant malaise which members of the government do not conceal from the delegates: even when there is no social compact, it is not easy for us to make the decision, even though we have the legal power for such action. But what is to be done when often there is no choice--if we also fail to intervene, still greater material consequences could ensue for society and the economy.

The character and magnitude of the material effects of those measures constitute another question that does not fall within our topic. However, aside from their economic impact, they have also had a formidable political response which is constantly smoldering in various public debates, especially those in the assembly. The widest variety of arguments is snatched up in these discussions--all the way from personal responses to these measures, as we have already mentioned, to exploration of their strategic implication. Some delegates, for instance, express the fear that the excessive use of these measures might disavow the operation of economic laws and replace them with the intervention of government agencies.

Of course, even the delegates themselves are aware that in this case the entire responsibility cannot be passed on exclusively to the FEC. The inclination toward intervention is very often fostered in various other domains of society as well, since it is easiest for people, whenever in the exercise of a public function they feel pressed by economic difficulties which do not allow for postponement, to call upon the assistance of measures of the federal government. But in so doing they pose the question of whether that power, even when it is inevitable, is being used in the most suitable way.

To Wait or To Act

Denying that this constitutes statism, the FEC says that that is not the problem. It is in fact a warning signal suggesting the direction in which social action should be intensified so that associated labor takes on the strength for the responsibilities which await it. Incidentally, they add, these are not strategic undertakings, but temporary measures concerning current economic problems.

So as to make their views clearer, members of "the government" sometimes take this position of theirs to extreme alternatives. Is there any essential difference at all between "responsibility for the taking of administrative measures which derives from constitutional powers" and responsibility for waiting with folded hands when "there is no guarantee that the problem will be solved by the effective functioning of the self-management mechanism"?

To support this reference is made to the situation with the country's balance of payments and exchange balance for last year. That is, the FEC hesitated a fairly long time before taking the temporary measures envisaged by law which were necessary to prevent major disturbances in the agreed balance of payments. The reasons for its restraint indeed lay in the rather widespread atmosphere of belief that the Federal Executive Council is quick to resort to administrative measures. Viewed in this way, these measures objectively resemble relics of a statist solution, "even if they have legitimacy under the law."

Certainly there is still room for lengthy discourse on what in all this does or does not constitute statism. This entire debate, however, becomes far more tangible as one moves from the realm of principle to the concrete, when one begins to analyze the work of a particular body or agency and to go into the causes for each particular measure. Then the other side of the issue also shows up easily: the conclusion of self-management accords, which is often the explanation given for the inevitability of measures "from above," is also late because all the documents have not been prepared in good time by that same FEC. In such cases, as ineluctable deadlines become pressing, there is nothing else to be done but to resort to emergency procedures and temporary measures, which the economy regards as something imposed upon it. For some this poses the question: To what extent are federal agencies sufficiently open to the democratic influence of society, or, that is, why are they still not sufficiently open to that influence?

The delegate who raises this question illustrates his view with a simple and recent example. About 140 reports on expanded reproduction, that topic that is so urgent, were presented in Kragujevac in February at the "Red Banner" meeting. Naturally, a great number of new assessments and proposals were made. Certainly it would be of paramount importance for federal bodies and agencies, relying on signals from below, to take up these suggestions and put them on the agenda. Might not this itself be a good form for normal self-management communication in society?

However, that is not practiced, since, as some say, even the Federal Executive Council is burdened considerably by routine. Over the last 18 months there have been 159 meetings of the FEC to discuss more than 6,000 agenda items. The members of the FEC and other people bearing the greatest responsibility spend several days a week in sessions and meetings. There are many practical things, then, which prevent them, as someone has said, from "seeing the main links in the chain" in the midst of day-to-day business.

Administrative Routine

Routine is also felt in other ways, above all in the government administration; which is criticized "for producing draft proposals whose professional and conceptual level is low." These draft proposals have more the effect of deadening the spirit of initiative than they are capable of evoking inventive involvement in various quarters in society. It is true that the federal administration numbers more than 14,000 people, but only at first glance does this seem sufficient. Only 11 percent of them work on economic affairs, and this, as we know, is the backbone of government activity. How then, many ask, can it be a creative administration, much less utilize science?

There were also several other questions, which only proves that in this debate, which lasted several days in the Assembly, both the delegates and the members of the FEC were in an exceptionally exploratory mood. To be sure, there are still no answers to many things. Someone rather sagely remarked in this connection: in such matters patience is better than cheap exaltation. Why should we constantly make a declarative show of adopting new solutions and then again swear by the system, when we have already done this a thousand times already? This will not make the system better, and it could arouse doubts about our personal security.

It is best to display a documented readiness to take up the challenge of every open question, which in fact is what we have seen in this recent assembly debate.

7045

CSO: 2800

LATEST BULGARIAN BOOK ON MACEDONIAN HISTORY CRITICIZED

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 3 Apr 80 p 4

[Article by Bosko Nacevski: "A Book Which Feeds the Great Bulgarian Chauvinism"]

[Text] Sofia, 2 April--The Sofia Publishing House "Nauka i Umetnost" has this time offered the Bulgarian reading public another book which, judging by its contents, does not serve historical truth and will not in any case outlive the needs of the time in which it was created. The book in question is "The National Liberation Movement in Macedonia and the Odrin Region 1878-1903," prepared by Konstantin Pandev, associate of the Institute for History at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences [BAS]. The entire book is merely an expression of the Great Bulgarian nationalistic approach and policy toward Macedonia and the Macedonian people.

The author of this historical pamphlet is one of the compilers of the anthologies "Macedonia--A Collection of Documents and Materials," and "Goce Delcev--Memorial Documents, Materials," which not too long ago came out of the historical laboratories of the BAS with an open intention to attack the socialist development of the SR [Socialist Republic] of Macedonia and, by distorting the facts involving its historic past, to claim the national values created by the Macedonian people through their development.

Along the Paths of Bourgeois Historiography

The same effect is also intended by the fact that the first public "scientific" review of the book, with pronounced nationalistic overtones, was placed on the pages of the Blagoevgrad newspaper PIRINSKO DELO with a special emphasis on the fact that the book "successfully" clarifies certain unclear aspects of the "patriotic" role played by the Bulgarian Court, and the nationalism of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie in the liberation movement in Macedonia. There is a particular effort to impose a historical construction on the reader so as to erase the dark spots related to Sofia's Great Bulgarian aspirations. For this purpose even the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization [IMRO] is presented as a "natural growth" of Bulgarian endeavors to "liberate its" Western regions and the Bulgarians who live in them. The author's insistence on proving the "assistance" which IMRO "was given" by the Supreme Committee in Sofia and the revolutionary brotherhood in Salonika, those two extended arms of Bulgarian nationalism, and the

"close cooperation" of the IMRO with these two creations of Bulgarian politics, would sound like some kind of historical irony even to the insufficiently informed.

The intentions of the author and the publisher are revealed in the very beginning of the book, their leading idea being--by omission, concealment, distortion and falsification of historically proven facts--to present the IMRO and the Ilinden uprising, as well as the events which preceded it, as "part of Bulgarian national history." It is nothing new or surprising that for these purposes the "historical" laboratory of the BAS has activated all its weapons, because in recent months it has often been fabricating works which most crudely negate the authenticity of the Macedonian people, their language, and creative work.

The Criticism of the Bulgarian Critics

It is not in Sofia, but rather "in Skopje," says the aforementioned book, "that historical and other literature has been crudely distorting" the historical truth about the national liberation movement in Macedonia and the Odrin region. The author then proceeds to state the main purpose of the book, that "the (Skopje) literature has been denying Bulgarian citizenship of the Slavic population in Macedonia." According to this most recent pamphlet of the nationalistically disposed circles of Sofia's historians, the publication of the three-volume "History of the Macedonian People" represents "the peak of these distortions."

The Bulgarian historians are also dissatisfied with the interpretation of this period in the cultural development and revolutionary-liberation process in Macedonia offered by their Greek colleagues who, as observed in the aforementioned book, present the problems involving the national liberation movement in Macedonia and the Odrin region, especially those related to the national structure of the population in Macedonia, in an "unrealistic light." Some circles in Sofia are also obviously dissatisfied with the orientation taken by Italian historiography in interpreting the events in Macedonia at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, as they have allegedly "distorted the character and meaning of the struggle in Macedonia." The author also establishes with regret the fact that even Soviet historiography does not interpret the national liberation movement in Macedonia according to the prescription of some of Sofia's historians, and concludes: "In the history of Yugoslavia, published in 1963 by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the socioeconomic, political, and especially cultural-national development of Macedonia is viewed as independent from other Bulgarian lands and Bulgaria itself.

This, adds the author, "prevents" a proper clarification of the basic questions involving the movement and Bulgarian activity in Macedonia generally, concluding that the same "shortcomings" related to this material on the national history of Macedonia and the Macedonian people are encountered in other Soviet literature.

Bulgarian readers, who are the target of this book, would probably ask themselves: "Whom do these falsifications serve, and could they be used to reshape confirmed historical truths, even if this should be done only for the needs of the time, and for the purposes of daily politics?"

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